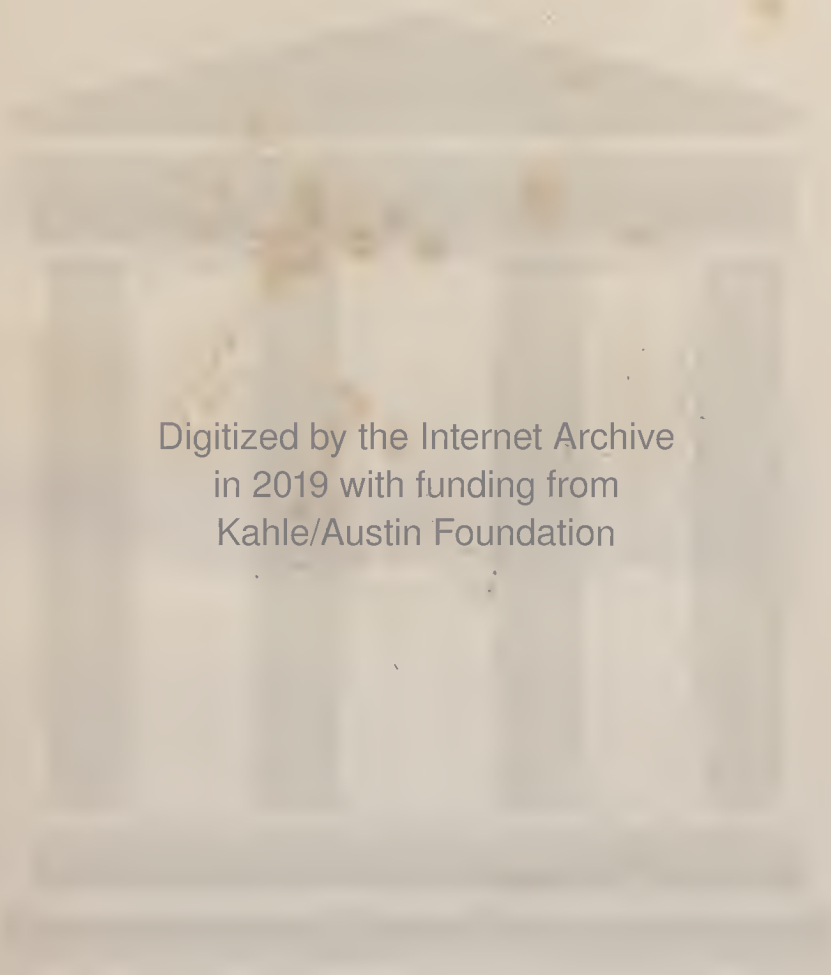


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HISTORICAL MEMOIRS

OF

HIS OWN TIME.

BY

SIR N. W. WRAXALL, BART.

Igitur ubi Animus requievit, non fuit Consilium Socordia atque Desidia bonum Otium conterere; neque vero Agrum colendo, aut venando, servilibus Officiis intentum, Ætatem agere. Sed a quo incepto Studio me Ambitio mala detinuerat, eodem regressus, statui Res gestas carptim, ut quæque Memoria digna videbantur, perscribere: eo magis, quod mihi a Spe, Metu, Partibus Reipublicæ, Animus liber erat.

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HISTORICAL MEMOIRS

OF MY OWN TIME.

PART THE SECOND.

1781.

I AM now arrived, in the Course of these Memoirs, at the Beginning of the Year 1781. Before, however, we enter on the political Events of that disastrous Period, it seems indispensable that we should survey the Character of the Sovereign, of the Cabinet Ministers, of the Leaders of Opposition, and the principal Persons in both Houses of the new Parliament. Great Britain did not then present the same august, majestic, and interesting Spectacle to Mankind, which we have since exhibited, even during the most calamitous Moments of the late Revolution-

ary War. The Empire, under Lord North's Administration, was shaken and convulsed in almost every Quarter. Domestic Faction pervaded all the Departments of Government, infected the Navy, and manifested itself in every Debate of either House of Parliament. The English were discontented ; the Scots were sullen ; and the Irish had become clamorous for political, as well as for commercial Emancipation. A Ministry, the Members of which Body did not always act in Union, and still prosecuting a hopeless Contest with America ; whatever Ability the Individuals composing it might separately possess, yet inspired no public Confidence in the success of their future Measures. National Credit began to droop under the Expenses of a War carried on across the Atlantic, at an immense Distance ; while the Commerce of the Country suffered at least in an equal Degree, from the Depredations of the Enemy. Nor had Lord North provided, as Mr. Pitt afterwards did in 1786, any *Sinking Fund* for the gradual Extinction of the Taxes which he annually imposed.

Amidst this Scene of Distress, the great Continental Powers of the North and East of Europe looked on, either as unconcerned

Spectators, or as secret Enemies. Joseph the Second, Emperor of Germany, who had recently succeeded to the Bohemian and Hungarian Thrones ; imitating in this Instance his Mother's Line of Policy, and occupied with domestic Reforms of various Kinds, took indeed no open Part. But, connected as he was with France, by his Sister's Marriage to Louis the Sixteenth, his Inclinations might be supposed to lean towards the House of Bourbon. The great Frederic, sinking in Years, as well as under the Pressure of Diseases and Infirmities ; satiated with military Fame ; attentive principally to the Improvement of his Dominions, and the Augmentation of his Revenue ; always attached from Disposition, to the Manners, Language, and Crown of France ; beheld with Satisfaction, the augmenting Difficulties of the English Government. He had never forgiven Lord Bute for retaining, when First Minister, the Subsidy claimed by Prussia in 1762 ; and he nourished a Dislike to the Country, which, as he perhaps justly conceived, had broken its Faith with him on so important a Point. Catherine the Second, ever anxious to throw a Veil of Glory over the tragical Circumstances which placed her

on the Russian Throne, by aggrandizing the Russian Empire; and availing herself with Ability of the Distress of England, then contending against so many Adversaries; set up Pretensions to a maritime Exemption from the Right of Search on the high Seas, claimed and exercised by Great Britain in Time of War. Placing herself at the Head of the Baltic Powers, in Union with the Courts of Copenhagen and Stockholm, which on this Occasion made common Cause with her, she attempted to emancipate their Navies from any further Submission to the British Flag. Lord North, unable to resent, or to oppose the Policy of Catherine by open Force, temporized, and waited for more propitious Times. Portugal alone, amidst the general Hostility or Defection of Europe, ventured to manifest her amicable Disposition; and had the Generosity to refuse to form a Junction with the Baltic Confederacy, or to accede to the Armed Neutrality of the Northern States.

The King at this Period of his Reign, was far advanced in his Forty-Third Year. Though he came into the World at the term of Seven Months; a Fact which is indisputable,

as the late Duchess of Brunswic, his Sister's Birth, took place on the 11th of August, 1737; and that of His Majesty, on the 4th of June, 1738; yet Nature had conferred on him a sound and vigorous Frame of Body. He was born in Norfolk House, St. James's Square, where Frederic, Prince of Wales, then resided; who had been peremptorily ordered only a short Time before, to quit St. James's Palace, by George the Second. I saw, not much more than a Year ago, the identical Bed in which the Princess of Wales was delivered, now removed to the Duke of Norfolk's seat of Worksop in the County of Nottingham; and it forcibly proves the rapid Progress of domestic Elegance and Taste, within the last eighty Years. Except that the Furniture is of Green Silk, the Bed has nothing splendid about it; and 'would hardly be esteemed fit for the Accommodation of a Person of ordinary Condition in the present Times. A course of systematic Abstinence and Exercise, had secured to George the Third the Enjoyment of almost uninterrupted Health, down to the Time of which I speak. So little had he been incommoded by Sickness, or by Indisposition of any kind, from the Period of his Accession, till his memorable Seizure in 1788; that scarcely

was he ever compelled to absent himself on that Account, from a Levee, a Council, or a Drawing-room, during eight and twenty Years. One only Exception to this Remark occurred in the Autumn of 1765, when he was attacked by a Disorder that confined him for several Weeks; relative to the Nature and Seat of which Malady, though many Conjectures and Assertions have been hazarded, in Conversation, and even in Print, no satisfactory Information has ever been given to the World.

In the King's Countenance, a Physiognomist would have distinguished two principal Characteristics; Firmness, or as his Enemies denominated it, Obstinacy; tempered with Benignity. The former Expression was however indisputably more marked and prominent than the latter Sentiment. Fox, when addressing the House of Commons, did not hesitate to allude in very intelligible Language, to his Obstinacy. I remember, in January, 1782, on his moving for Papers, in Order to institute an Enquiry into Lord Sandwich's Conduct at the Head of the Admiralty, Fox observed, "It is said by the very Members of this Assembly who in case of a Division will vote in Favor of

the Earl of Sandwich, that there is *an Obstinacy somewhere*, which will oppose whatever Measure is suggested from this Side of the House.”—“ I cannot pretend to say whether such a *Spirit of Obstinacy* does, or does not exist: but, those Men who really believe the present first Lord of the Admiralty unfit for his Situation, and yet come down to vote for maintaining Him in Office, are unfit for the important Trust of Representatives of a free People.” I believe, there was no Person present, so obtuse, as not to understand the Application of Fox’s Expressions. The King seemed to have a Tendency to become corpulent, if he had not repressed it by habitual and unremitting Temperance. On this Subject I shall relate a Fact, which was communicated to me by a Friend, Sir John Macpherson, who received it from the great Earl of Mansfield, to whom the King himself mentioned it; forcibly demonstrating that Strength of Mind, Renunciation of all Excess, and Dominion over his Appetites, which have characterized George the Third at every Period of his Life. Conversing with William, Duke of Cumberland, his Uncle, not long before that Prince’s Death, in 1764, His Majesty ob-

served, that it was with Concern he remarked the Duke's augmenting Corpulency. "I lament it not less, Sir," replied he, "but it is constitutional; and I am much mistaken if Your Majesty will not become as large as myself, before you attain to my Age." "It arises from your not using sufficient Exercise," answered the King. "I use, nevertheless," said the Duke, "constant and severe Exercise of every Kind. But, there is another Effort requisite, in order to repress this Tendency, which is much more difficult to practise; and without which, no Exercise, however violent, will suffice. I mean, great Renunciation and Temperance. Nothing else can prevent Your Majesty from growing to my Size." The King made little Reply; but the Duke's Words sunk deep, and produced a lasting Impression on his Mind. From that Day he formed the Resolution, as he assured Lord Mansfield, of checking his constitutional Inclination to Corpulency, by unremitting Restraint upon his Appetite: a Determination which he carried into complete Effect, in Defiance of every Temptation.

Perhaps no Sovereign, of whom History,

ancient or modern, makes Mention in any Age of the Earth, has exceeded him in the Practice of this Virtue. It is a Fact, that during many Years of his Life, after coming up from Kew, or from Windsor, often on Horseback, and sometimes in heavy Rain, to the Queen's House; he has gone in a Sedan Chair to St. James's, dressed himself, held a Levee, passed through all the Forms of that long and tedious Ceremony; for such it was in the way that he performed it; without leaving any Individual in the Circle, unnoticed; and has afterwards assisted at a Privy Council, or given Audience to his Cabinet Ministers and others, till five, and even sometimes till six o'Clock. After so much Fatigue of Body and of Mind, the only Refreshment or Sustenance that he usually took, consisted in a few Slices of Bread and Butter and a Dish of Tea, which he sometimes swallowed as he walked up and down, previous to getting into his Carriage, in order to return into the Country. His Understanding, solid and sedate, qualified him admirably for Business, though it was neither of a brilliant, lively, nor imposing Description. But his Manner did Injustice to the Endowments of his Intellect: and unfortu-

nately, it was in Public that these minute personal Defects or Imperfections became most conspicuous. Dr. Johnson, indeed, thought otherwise on the Subject: for, after the Conversation with which His Majesty was pleased to honor that great literary Character, in the Library at the Queen's House, in February, 1767, he passed the highest Encomiums on the elegant Manners of the Sovereign. Boswell, in Johnson's Life, speaking of this Circumstance, adds, "He said to Mr. Barnard, the Librarian, 'Sir, they may talk of the King as they will, but he is the finest Gentleman I have ever seen.' And he afterwards observed to Mr. Langton, 'Sir, his Manners are those of as fine a Gentleman, as we may suppose Louis the Fourteenth, or Charles the Second.'"

Independent of the Effect necessarily produced on Johnson's Mind, by so unexpected and flattering a Mark of royal Condescension, which may well be imagined to have operated most favorably on the Opinions of the Moralist; he was perhaps of all Men, the least capable of estimating personal Elegance of Deportment. His vast intellectual Powers lay in another line of Discrimination,

Had Johnson been now living, he might indeed witness the finest Model of Grace, Dignity, Ease, and Affability, which the World has ever beheld, united in the same Person. In *him* are really blended the Majesty of Louis the Fourteenth, with the Amenity of Charles the Second. But George the Third was altogether destitute of these ornamental and adventitious Endowments. The Oscillations of his Body, the Precipitation of his Questions, none of which, it was said, would wait for an Answer; and the hurry of his Articulation, afforded on the contrary, to little Minds, or to malicious Observers, who only saw him at the Drawing-room, (or, as the Duchess of Chandos called it, the *drawing* Room,) Occasion for calling in Question the Soundness of his Judgment, and the Strength of his Faculties. None of his Ministers, however, and Mr. Fox, if possible, less than any other, entertained such an Opinion. His whole Reign forms indeed, the best Answer to the Imputation. That he committed many Errors, nourished many Prejudices, formed many erroneous Estimates, and frequently adhered too pertinaciously to his Determinations, where he conceived, perhaps falsely, that they were founded in Reason, or in

Justice;—all these Allegations may be admitted. Nor can the injurious Effects to himself, and to his People, necessarily flowing in various Instances, from such Defects of Character and of Administration, be altogether denied. But, these Infirmities, from which no Man is exempt, cannot impugn his right to the affectionate Veneration of Posterity, for the inflexible Uprightness of his public Conduct. And as little can they deprive him of the Suffrages of the wise and good of every Age, who will bear Testimony to the Expansion of his Mind, and the invariable Rectitude of his Intentions.

It would, indeed, be difficult for History to produce an Instance of any Prince who has united and displayed on the Throne, during near half a Century, so many personal and private Virtues. In the Flower of Youth, unmarried, endowed with a vigorous Constitution, and surrounded with Temptations to Pleasure or Indulgence of every Kind when he succeeded to the Crown, he never yielded to these Seductions. Not less affectionately attached to the Queen, than Charles the First was to his Consort Henrietta Maria, he remained nevertheless altogether ex-

empt from the Uxoriousness which characterized his unfortunate Predecessor, and which operated so fatally in the Course of his Reign.

Wilkes, in the Papers of the “North Briton,” and “Junius,” always affected, by drawing Comparisons between the two Kings, to demonstrate the moral Resemblance that existed between them : but, the pretended Similarity was only external, in matters of mere Deportment, not of solid Character. It must be apparent to every impartial Person, who studies their respective Reigns and line of political Action, how superior was George the Third to Charles, on the three great Points that constitute the essential Difference between Men. The first of these Qualities was *Firmness of Mind*. To his Weakness, not even to give it a more severe Epithet, in abandoning Lord Strafford to the Rage of his Enemies, we may trace all the Misfortunes that accompanied Charles from that Time, down to the Close of Life : Misfortunes aggravated by the Reproaches of his own Conscience, for delivering up his Minister a Victim to popular Violence ! His present Majesty neither deserted Lord Bute, when most

unpopular, in 1763; nor the Duke of Grafton, amidst the Tumults of March, 1769; nor Lord North in the more awful Riots of June, 1780. As little did he turn his Back on Lord George Germain, after the Defeats of Saratoga, or of York Town, amidst the Disasters of the American War. Far from recurring for Support to his Ministers he constantly extended it to them; and never shrunk from personal Risk, Responsibility, or Odium. His Conduct on the memorable seventh of June, 1780, both at the Council Table, and during the Course of that calamitous Night which followed, will best exemplify the Assertion. Charles, though personally brave in the Field, and perfectly composed on the Scaffold, was deficient in political Courage, Steadiness of Temper, and Tenacity of Determination. These Qualities formed the distinguishing Characteristics of George the Third, who seems, when assailed by Misfortunes, to have taken as his Motto, the Sentiment of the Roman Poet:

“*Tu ne cede Malis; sed contra, audentior ito.*”

Nor does the Balance incline less in his Favor, when compared with his Predecessor of

the Stuart Line, on the Article of *Judgment*. If any Act of His present Majesty's Reign or Government, may seem to bear an Analogy to the intemperate, vindictive, and Pernicious Attempt of Charles, to seize on the five Members of the House of Commons; it was the Order issued by a *General Warrant*, to take Wilkes into Custody. Nor shall I undertake the Defence of that Proceeding, which I have always considered as the least justifiable Measure in every Sense, embraced since the King's Accession to the Throne. But, when he authorized it, in April, 1763, he had not completed his twenty-fifth Year. Charles the First was above forty, at the Time of his committing the rash Act in Question. That George the Third, if he had ever been reduced to take up Arms against his Subjects, might, from the Partialities of parental Affection, have committed an Error similar to that of Charles when he entrusted the Command of his Forces to Prince Rupert; I will even admit to be probable, reasoning from the internal Evidence afforded by the Campaigns of 1793, 1794, and 1799. But, no Man who has followed the whole Chain of Events from 1760 down to 1810, can hesitate in pronouncing, that under Circumstances

the most appalling to the human Mind, demanding equal Fortitude and intellectual Resources; he has displayed a Degree of Ability, that we would vainly seek in the Stuart King's unfortunate Administration, terminated by the Scaffold.

It is however in *moral Principle and good Faith*, that the Superiority of the one Sovereign over the other, becomes most irresistible, and forces the completest Conviction. "Charles the First," says *Junius*, "lived and "died a Hypocrite." However severe we may esteem this Sentence, we cannot contest that his Insincerity formed a prominent Feature of his Character, and eminently conduced to his Destruction. It was proved by a variety of Facts; and it unquestionably deterred Cromwell, as well as others of the Republican Leaders, from exhibiting or anticipating the Conduct of *Monk*. Unable to trust his most solemn Assurances, they found no Security for themselves, except in bringing him to the Block. But, George the Third exhibited a Model of unshaken Fidelity to his Engagements; even those most repugnant to his own Feelings, and most contrary to his own Judgment. I could adduce many

Proofs of the Fact. How magnanimous was his Reception and Treatment of Adams, in 1783; a Man personally obnoxious; when presented to Him at his Levee, as Envoy from the American States! In Terms the most conciliating, yet nobly frank, he avowed to that Minister, with what Reluctance he had consented to the Separation of the Trans-Atlantic British Colonies from his Dominion; "But," added he, "their Independence being now consummated, I shall be the last Man in my Kingdom to encourage its Violation."

He acted in a similar manner, when the Preliminaries of Peace were signed in 1801, with France. No Measure of State in the Power of Ministers to adopt, could have been, under the existing Circumstances, less consonant to *his* ideas of Safety, Policy, and Wisdom: a Fact of which the Cabinet was so perfectly aware, that Lord Hawkesbury affixed his Signature to the Articles, not only without the King's Consent or Approbation, but, without his Knowledge. It took place, as is well known, on the first of October, just as he was about to return from Weymouth to Windsor. The Cabinet instantly

sent off a Messenger with the Intelligence, who met the King at Andover; and the Pacquet was brought to him as he stood in the Drawing-room of the Inn, engaged in Conversation with the late Earl of Cardigan, and two other Noblemen, one of whom is still alive. His Majesty, wholly unsuspecting of the Fact, and not expecting to receive any News of Importance, ordered them not to leave the Apartment, as they were preparing to do, in order that he might have Time to peruse the Dispatch. But, on inspecting its Contents, he betrayed so much Surprise, both in his Looks and Gesture, that they were again about to quit his Presence. The King then addressed them, and holding the Letter open in his Hand, “ I “ have received surprizing News,” said he, “ but it is no Secret. Preliminaries of Peace “ are signed with France. I knew nothing “ of it whatever; but, since it is made, I “ sincerely wish it may prove a lasting “ Peace.”

Louis the Twelfth, King of France, sur-named in History, “ the Father of his People,” is said to have observed, that “ if good Faith were banished from among Men, it

should be found in the Bosoms of Princes.” This sublime Maxim or Sentiment, seems to have been inherent in the intellectual Formation of George the Third. His Coronation Oath was ever present to his Mind ; and he dreaded the slightest Infraction of that solemn Compact made with his People, to which the Deity had been invoked as a Party, far more than the Loss of his Crown or Life. When Mr. Pitt, sustained by four of the Cabinet Ministers, made the Experiment of forcing him to violate it, on the 29th of January, 1801, relative to the Question of “ Catholic Emancipation in Ireland ;” they unquestionably did not expect nor intend to go out of Office, though they sent in their respective Resignations. But, having compelled the King no less than four times, in the Course of a few Years, to give way on Points where the Majority of his Cabinet differed from him ; they erroneously assumed that he would act in the same Manner, where his Conscience was concerned. Sustained however by his Principles, he did not hesitate a Moment in accepting their Resignation, though he accompanied the Acceptance with the most flattering Testimonies under his Hand, of Esteem and personal Attach-

ment. Uninstructed by such a Warning, Lord Grenville, who had been one of the five Cabinet Members alluded to above, aided by Lord Grey, repeated the Attempt six Years later, after Fox's Decease, with similar Success. Charles the First did not manifest the same religious Respect for the Sanctity of his Oaths and Engagements. If his Enemies in Parliament, and in the Field, could have reposed the unlimited Confidence in him, which George the Third challenged from his Opponents, that unhappy Prince might have died in his Bed at Whitehall.

I will subjoin only one Anecdote more, on a Point so interesting, which vitally characterizes the present King. Towards the End of the Month of January, 1805, at a Time when he was much occupied in Preparations for the Installation of the Knights of the *Garter*, destined to take Place on the approaching Twenty-third of April; and while conversing on the Subject with some Persons of high Rank, at Windsor; one of them, the late Earl of Chesterfield, a Nobleman much distinguished by his Favor, said, "Sir, are not the new Knights, now meant to be installed, obliged to take the Sacra-

“ment before the Ceremony?” Nothing could probably have been further from his Idea or Intention, than to have asked the Question in a Manner capable of implying any Levity or Irreverence. Nevertheless, His Majesty instantly changed Countenance; and assuming a severe Look, after a Moment or two of Pause, “No,” replied he, “that religious Institution is not to be mixed with our profane Ceremonies. Even at the Time of my Coronation, I was very unwilling to take the Sacrament. But, when they told me that it was indispensable, and that I must receive it; before I approached the Communion Table, I took off the Bauble from my Head. The Sacrament, my Lord, is not to be profaned by our Gothic Institutions.”—The Severity of the King’s Manner while he pronounced these Words, impressed all present, and suspended for a short Time, the Conversation. Never was any Prince more religiously tenacious of his Engagements or Promises. Even the temporary Privation of his Intellect, did not affect his regard to the Assurances that he had given previous to such Alienation of Mind; nor, which is still more wonderful, obliterate them from his Recollection. I

know, though I shall not particularize the Facts, that on his Recovery from the severest Visitations under which he has laboured, he has said to his Minister, in the first Moments of his Convalescence ; “ Previous to my “ Attack of Illness, I made such and such “ Promises ; they must be effectuated.” How deep a Sense of Honor, and how strong a moral Principle, must have animated such a Prince !

The Education of George the Third had not been conducted or superintended in many Respects, with as much Care, as his Birth, and the great Prospects to which he was Heir, should seem to have claimed from his Predecessor. He was only between twelve and thirteen Years of Age, when he lost his Father ; and the late King did not extend any very enlightened or affectionate Attention to that important national Object. Even his Mother, the Princess Dowager of Wales, appears to have been deeply sensible to the Inefficiency of the various Preceptors successively employed about her Son. Other Charges, of a still more serious Nature, were preferred against some of the Individuals entrusted with the Formation of his Princi-

ples, or who had constant Access to him ; as if they endeavoured to imbue him with arbitrary Notions, and to put into his Hands, Authors known to have inculcated tyrannical Maxims of Government. These Accusations, destitute of Proof, and denied in the most peremptory Manner at the Time when they were made in 1752 or 1753, by the Princess Dowager, rest on no solid Foundations. If we wish to contemplate a Portrait of the young Prince of Wales at seventeen Years of Age, drawn by his own Mother in August, 1755, and communicated confidentially to a Friend, we have it in Dodington's "Diary." She said, that "he was
" shy and backward ; not a wild, dissipated
" Boy, but good-natured and cheerful, with
" a serious Cast upon the whole : that those
" about him, knew him no more than if
" they had never seen him. That he was
" not quick ; but with those he was acquainted, applicable and intelligent. His
" Education had given her much Pain. His
" Book-learning she was no Judge of, though
" she supposed it small or useless : but, she
" hoped he might have been instructed in
" the general Understanding of Things." It is impossible to doubt the Accuracy and

Fidelity of this Picture, many Features of which, continued indelible throughout his whole Reign.

In modern History he was tolerably well instructed; particularly in the Annals of England and of France, as well as of Germany: but, in classical Knowledge, and all the Compositions of Antiquity, either of Greece or of Rome, historical, as well as poetic, he was little conversant. So slight or imperfect was his Acquaintance with Latin, that at Forty, it may be doubted if he could have construed a Page of Cicero, or of Ovid. He never delighted indeed in those Branches of Study, nor ever passed much of his Time in sedentary Occupations calculated to improve his Mind, after his Accession to the Crown. A Newspaper, which he commonly took up after Dinner, and over which, however interesting its Contents might be, he usually fell asleep in less than half an Hour, constituted the ordinary Extent of his Application. Nor ought we to wonder at this Circumstance, if we consider how numerous were his Avocations; and how little Leisure, the necessary Perusal of public Papers, Dispatches, and Letters, could have

left him for literary Research. If, however, he did not possess a very cultivated Understanding, he might nevertheless be justly considered as not deficient in Accomplishments befitting his high Station. He conversed with almost equal Fluency, as all those Persons who frequented the Levee or the Drawing-room could attest, in the English, French, and German Languages; nor was he ignorant of Italian. He wrote with Brevity, Perspicuity, and Facility. I have had Opportunities to see or hear various of his confidential Notes, addressed, during the Period of the American War, to a Nobleman high in Office, some of which were written under very delicate Circumstances. In all of them, good Sense, Firmness, Principle, Consistency, and Self-possession, were strongly marked through every Line. In Mechanics of all Kinds, he delighted and indulged himself; a Relaxation which seems, somewhat unjustly, to have excited much Animadversion, and still more Ridicule. But, it cannot be denied, that during this Period of his present Majesty's Reign, and down to a later Stage of it, the English People,—for I will not say, the Scotch,—viewed all the Failings of their Sovereign with a microscopic Eye,

while they did Injustice to his numerous Excellencies. They have, however, made him full Amends since 1783, for their preceding Severity.

For Painting and Architecture he shewed a Taste, the more admired, as his two immediate Predecessors on the Throne, altogether destitute of such a Quality, extended neither Favor nor Protection to Polite Letters. Since Charles the First, no Prince had expended such Sums in the Purchase of Productions of Art, or so liberally patronized Artists of every Kind. Music always constituted one of his favorite Recreations; and with the Predilection natural to a German, he manifested great Partiality for the Compositions of Handel. Towards this Time of his Life he began likewise to take a Pleasure in Hunting, for which Diversion he had not betrayed in his Youth, so much Inclination. But, another Occupation or Passion, which, from its beneficial Tendency and Results, as well as from the tranquil Enjoyments annexed to it, might seem peculiarly analogous to his Character and Disposition, employed much of his Thoughts, and no inconsiderable Portion of his Leisure. I mean,

Farming, and Agricultural Pursuits. He may be said to have shewn the Way, and to have set the Example, which has been since imitated by the late Duke of Bedford, Mr. Coke, Lord Somerville, Sir John Sinclair, and so many other distinguished Persons. Even this Inclination, however productive of public Benefit, and laudable in all its Results, yet exposed him to satirical Reflections, which Malignity or party Spirit embodied in the Form of Caricatures.

Satisfied with the legitimate Power entrusted to him by the British Constitution, and deeply impressed with the Sanctity, as well as Inviolability of the Oath administered to him at his Coronation, George the Third did not desire to pass the Limits of his rightful Prerogative. "The King," said Lord North frequently, "would live on Bread and Water, to preserve the Constitution of this Country. He would sacrifice his Life to maintain it inviolate." I know that such was his Opinion of his Sovereign, and Lord North could not err in forming a Judgment on the Point.—But, equally tenacious of his just Pretensions, and firm in resisting popular Violence or Innovation, he

never receded from any Point, or abandoned any Measure, under the Impulse of personal Apprehension. His Courage was calm, temperate, and steady. It was constitutional and hereditary ; but, it was always sustained by Conviction, Sense of public Duty, and Religion. These Sentiments inspired, accompanied, and upheld him, in the most distressing Moments of his Reign. Though he had not, like George the First, commanded Armies, and made Campaigns, in Hungary, or on the Rhine ; nor had he proved his Valor in the Field, like George the Second, who fought at Oudenarde in his Youth, and at Dettingen in his Age ; yet he possessed no less Bravery than his Ancestors : while he joined to personal Steadiness, a Quality still more rare, political Resolution. After the Attempt made to assassinate him in 1787, by Margaret Nicholson ; an Attempt which only failed from the Knife being worn so thin about the middle of the Blade, that it bent with the Resistance of the King's Waistcoat, instead of entering his Body, as it would otherwise have done ; he immediately held his Levee with the most perfect Composure. No Person who was present on that Day at St. James's, could have supposed that he

had just escaped from so imminent a Danger.

On the 29th of October, 1795, when the Pebble was thrown or discharged into the State Coach, in which he was proceeding to Westminster, to open the Session of Parliament; while surrounded by a most ferocious Mob, who manifested a truly Jacobinical Spirit; he exhibited a Calmness and Self-possession prepared for every Event. Few of his Subjects would have shewn the Presence of Mind, and Attention to every Thing except himself, which pervaded his whole Conduct, on the Evening of the 15th of May, 1800, at the time that Hadfield discharged a Pistol over his Head, in the Theatre, loaded with two Slugs. His whole Anxiety was directed towards the Queen, who not having entered the Box, might, he apprehended, on hearing of the Event, be overcome by her Surprise or Emotions. The dramatic Piece, which was about to be represented, commenced in a short Space of Time afterwards, precisely as if no Accident had interrupted its Performance; and so little were his Nerves shaken, or his internal Tranquillity disturbed by it, that he took his accustomed Doze of three

or four Minutes, between the Conclusion of the Play, and the Commencement of the Farce, precisely as he would have done on any other Night. This Circumstance, which so strongly indicated his Serenity, did not escape the Notice of his Attendants; as I know from more than one of those Noblemen or Gentlemen who accompanied him on that Evening, to the Theatre.

He received during the Course of his Reign, innumerable anonymous Letters threatening his Life, all which he treated with uniform Indifference. A Nobleman, who, I lament, is now no more, and who during many Years was frequently about his Person, as well as much in his Confidence, the late Earl of Sandwich; assured me that he had seen several of them, which His Majesty shewed him, particularly when at Weymouth. While residing there during successive Seasons, he was warned in the ambiguous Manner already mentioned, not to ride out on particular Days, on certain Roads, if he valued his Safety: but, the King never failed to mount his Horse, and to take the very Road indicated in the Letter. Speaking on the Subject, to that Nobleman, he said, "I very well

“ know that any Man who chooses to sacrifice his own Life, may, whenever he pleases, take away mine ; riding out, as I do continually, with a single Equerry and a Footman. I only hope that whoever may attempt it, will not do it in a barbarous or brutal Manner.” When we reflect on his Conduct under these Circumstances, as well as during the Tumults of March, 1769, and the Riots of June, 1780 ;—and if we contrast it with the weak or pusillanimous Deportment of Louis the Sixteenth, in July, 1789, when the French Monarchy was virtually overturned ; in October of the same Year, at the Time of his being carried Prisoner from Versailles to Paris ; or, on the 10th of August, 1792, when he abandoned the Tuilleries, to seek Refuge in the National Assembly ;—we shall perceive the leading Cause of the Preservation of England, and of the Destruction of France. To George the Third, considered in his Kingly Capacity, might well be applied the Assertion,

——“ ’Tis the last Key Stone
“ That makes the Arch.”——

He seemed as if raised up by Providence, in its Bounty to Mankind, like an impreg-

nable Mound, to arrest the Fury of Revolution and Jacobinism. How can we wonder that such a Prince should prefer Pitt, notwithstanding the Inflexibilities of his Character, and the Intractability of his natural Disposition, for First Minister; rather than Fox, who was successively the Eulogist of Washington, of Laurens, of La Fayette, of Condorcet, and all the Saints or Martyrs of French and American Insurrection!

That George the Third did not display those great Energies of Mind, those Arts of condescending Popularity, and that Assemblage of extraordinary Endowments, which met in Elizabeth; and which rendered her at once the Terror of Europe, and the Idol of her own Subjects, must be admitted. That he could not, like Charles the Second, balance the Errors or the Vices of his Government, by the Seduction of his Manners; and induce his People, like that Prince, to love his Person, though they condemned his Conduct; we shall as readily confess. That he had not the Advantage of being brought up amidst Privations and Mortifications of every kind, like William the Third; nor was, like William, compelled, at his first

Entrance on public Life, to extricate his Country by Arms, from a powerful foreign Invader:—that he did not nourish the profound Ambition, or develope the deep Policy and active military Spirit, of that illustrious Sovereign; cannot be disputed. But, if he was less distinguished by Talents than William, he exhibited greater Virtues. He resembled, indeed, in the leading Features of his Character, more the two Antonines, than Trajan or Augustus; and excited greater Respect, than he awakened Admiration. But, Ages may probably elapse, before we shall again behold on the Throne, a Prince more qualified on the whole to dispense Happiness, and more justly an Object of universal Affection, blended with Esteem.

“ Quo nihil majus meliusve Terris,
Fata donavere bonique Divi,
Nec dabunt, quamvis redeant in aurum
Tempora priscum.”

If we compare him, as it is natural to do, either in his public Capacity, or in his private Conduct, with his two immediate Predecessors, who may nevertheless justly be considered, on a fair review of their Characters, as amiable and respectable Sovereigns; the

Comparison is highly flattering to George the Third. He possessed indeed some Advantages not enjoyed by either of those Princes. His Birth, which took Place in this Island; and that complete Assimilation with the People of England, which can only result from the joint Effect of Habits, Language, and Education; gave him a Superiority over them, and placed him upon higher Ground. The two preceding Kings were Foreigners, who acceded, or were called to the Throne, at an advanced Period of Life. George the First had attained his fifty-third, and George the Second his forty-fourth year, at their respective Accession. They naturally and necessarily considered Hanover as their native Country, though Fortune had transported them to another Soil. Even their Policy, their Treaties, their Wars, and all their Measures, were warped by foreign Predilections, to which they too often sacrificed the Interests of Great Britain. From these Prejudices, the King, who had never visited his Electoral Dominions, nor knew Germany except by Description, was exempt in a great Degree. Less impetuous and irascible than his Grandfather, he possessed likewise a more capacious Mind, more Command of

Temper, and better Talents for Government. In Moderation, Judgment, and Vigor of Intellect, he at least equalled George the First: while in every other Quality of the Heart, or of the Understanding, he exceeded that Monarch. In his private Life, as a Husband, a Father, and a Man, he was superior to either. The Conduct of George the First in these Relations, will not indeed bear a severe Inspection. His Treatment of the unfortunate Sophia of Zell, his Wife, whom he immured during the greater Part of her Life, in a solitary Hanoverian Castle; cannot be easily reconciled to the Feelings of Justice, or even of Humanity. As little did he consult Decorum, or public Opinion and Morals, in bringing over with him from Hanover to this Country, his two German Mistresses; Sophia, Baroness Kilmanseck, and Melesina, Princess of Eberstein; whom he respectively created, the one, Countess of Darlington, and the other, Duchess of Kendal. We may see in Mr. Walpole's "Reminiscences," how openly they were received here in that Character. Charles the Second could not have observed less Secrecy, with respect to Lady Castlemaine, or the Duchess of Portsmouth; nor have manifested less Scruple

about raising them to the Dignity of the British Peerage. Even at sixty-seven Years of Age, George the First, it appears, was about to have formed a new Connexion of the same Nature, with Miss Brett, when he was carried off by an apoplectic Stroke.

His Son and Successor displayed indeed the utmost Affection for his Queen, with whom he not only lived on Terms of conjugal Union, but, whose Loss he deplored with Tears, and cherished the warmest Respect for her Memory. Yet he did not on that Account, restrain his Inclinations for other Women. Mrs. Howard, who became afterwards Countess of Suffolk; and, Madame de Walmoden, better known as Countess of Yarmouth; the one previous, and the other subsequent, to Queen Caroline's Decease; were both avowedly distinguished by the strongest Marks of royal Favor. The latter is accused by popular Report, of having made on more than one Occasion, a most unjustifiable Use, or rather Abuse, of her Interest with the King. Even Peerages were said to be sold and distributed for her pecuniary Benefit; a Charge that has been revived from the Treasury Bench, by a Man high in

Office, in our Time. George the Third exhibited a Model of Self-Command and of Contenance, at twenty-two, than which Antiquity, Greek or Roman, can produce nothing more admirable, in the Persons of Alexander, or of Scipio. It is well known that before his Marriage, he distinguished by his Partiality Lady Sarah Lenox, then one of the most beautiful young Women of high Rank in the Kingdom. Lord Holland, who had espoused her elder Sister, was supposed, from obvious Motives of interested Ambition, to lend every Facility in his Power, to the young King's meeting Lady Sarah, as he passed near Holland House frequently during his Morning Excursions on Horseback. In the Hay Season of the year 1761, she might often be seen in the Fields bordering on the high Road near Kensington. Edward the Fourth, or Henry the Eighth, in his Situation, regardless of Consequences, would have married her, and placed her on the Throne. Charles the Second, more licentious, would have endeavoured to seduce her. But, the King, who, though he admired her, neither desired to make her his Wife nor his Mistress, subdued his Passion by the Strength of his Reason, his

Principles, and his Sense of public Duty. When we reflect on these Circumstances, we may say with Horace, addressing Ourselves to the British Nation,

“ Quando ullum inveniet Parem ? ”

After having thus faithfully pourtrayed, though in the seeming Language of Panegyric, the Character of George the Third ; it is impossible, nevertheless, without violating Truth, to deny that at this Time, far from being popular, he was not even an Object of general Affection. We may justly question whether Charles the Second, though one of the most unprincipled, profligate, and licentious Sovereigns who ever reigned in this Country ; destitute of Morals ; sunk in dissolute Pleasures ; who tamely beheld his Fleet burned by the Dutch, in his own Harbours ; a Pensioner of France ; insensible to national Glory ; and regardless of the Subjection of the Continent to Louis the Fourteenth ;—yet was ever so unpopular at any Period of his Reign. In order to explain this seeming Paradox, and to shew how a Prince, who apparently, from his many private Virtues, should have possessed the Attachment

of his Subjects; was nevertheless considered by a very large Proportion of them, with contrary Sentiments; we must review the principal Features of his Government. That Retrospect will fully account for the Circumstance, while it elucidates the Events which followed the Commencement of the Year 1781.

To the confined Plan of Education, and sequestered Life which the King led, subsequent to the Death of his Father, before his own Accession to the Crown, may be justly traced and attributed, at least in Part, many of the Errors, as well as the Misfortunes, that mark the Portion of the British Annals, from 1760 down to the Close of the American War. During near ten Years which elapsed between the Demise of Frederic, Prince of Wales, early in 1751, and the Decease of George the Second; a period when the human Mind is susceptible of such deep Impressions; he remained in a State of almost absolute Seclusion from his future People, and from the World. Constantly resident at Leicester House, or at Carlton House, when he was in London; immured at Kew, whenever he went to the Country;

perpetually under the Eye of his Mother and of Lord Bute, who acted in the closest Unity of Design; he saw comparatively few other Persons: and those, only chosen Individuals of both Sexes. They naturally obtained, and long preserved, a very firm Ascendant over him. When he ascended the Throne, though already arrived at Manhood, his very Person was hardly known, and his Character was still less understood, beyond a narrow Circle. Precautions, it is well ascertained, were even adopted by the Princess Dowager, to preclude as much as possible, Access to him: Precautions which, to the Extent of her Ability, were redoubled after he became King. It will scarcely be believed, but it is nevertheless true, that in Order to prevent his conversing with any Persons, or receiving any written Intimations, anonymous or otherwise, between the Drawing Room and the Door of Carlton House, when he was returning from thence to St. James's Palace, or to Buckingham House, after his Evening Visits to his Mother, she never failed to accompany him till he got into his Sedan Chair. "*Junius*," in May, 1770, after invidiously comparing Edward the Second and Richard the Second, (two

of the weakest or most misguided Princes who ever reigned in this Country,) with George the Third ; adds, when summing up the leading Features of his Character, “ Secluded from the World, attached from his Infancy to one set of Persons, and one set of Ideas, he can neither open his Heart to new Connexions, nor his Mind to better Information. A Character of this Sort, is the Soil fittest to produce that obstinate Bigotry in Politics and Religion, which begins with a meritorious Sacrifice of the Understanding, and finally conducts the Monarch and the Martyr to the Block.”

A Prince who had been endowed by Nature with great Energies of Mind, would, no doubt, have soon liberated himself from such Fetters. Yet we may remember that Louis the Fourteenth, who, whatever Faults he committed in the Course of his long Reign, must nevertheless always be considered as a Sovereign of very superior intellectual Attainments ; remained under the Tutelage of his Mother and his Minister, of Anne of Austria and Cardinal Mazarin, till even a later Period of Life than twenty-two. Nor did he then emancipate himself. It was

Death, that by carrying off the Cardinal, allowed the King to display those Qualities, which have rendered so celebrated his Name and Reign. A Prince, on the other Hand, of a gay, social, dissipated, or convivial Disposition, would equally have burst through these Impediments. But, Pleasure of every Kind, in the common Acceptation of the Term, as meaning Dissipation, presented scarcely any Attractions for him, even previous to his Marriage. Stories were indeed generally circulated, of his Attachment to a young Woman, a Quaker, about this Time of his Life; just as Scandal, many Years afterwards, whispered that he distinguished Lady Bridget Tollemache by his particular Attentions. The former Report was probably well founded; and the latter Assertion was unquestionably true: but, those Persons who have enjoyed most Opportunities of studying the King's Character, will most incline to believe, that in neither Instance did he pass the Limits of innocent Gallantry, or occasional Familiarity. As little was he to be seduced by the Gratifications of the Table, of Wine, or of Festivity. To all these Allurements he seemed disinclined from natural Constitution, moral, and physical. His Bro-

ther, Edward, Duke of York, plunged on the contrary very early, into every Sort of Excess. But the Example, however calculated to operate it might seem, produced no Effect on a Prince, modest, reserved, continent, capable of great Self-Command, and seeking almost all his Amusements within a narrow domestic Circle.

Before he succeeded to the Crown, Lord Bute constituted in fact almost his only constant Companion and Confident. To him alone the Heir Apparent unbosomed his Thoughts: with him the Prince rode, walked, read, and conversed. They were on Horseback together, upon the 25th of October, 1760, not far from Kew, when the Intelligence of George the Second's sudden Death reached him; confirmed immediately afterwards by Mr. Pitt in Person, who then presided at the Head of His Majesty's Counsels, or formed at least the Soul of the Cabinet. On receiving the Information they returned to the Palace, where the new King remained during the whole Day, and passed that Night, not coming up to St. James's till the ensuing Morning. Mr. Pitt having presented him a Paper, containing a few Sent-

ences, which he suggested, it might be proper for His Majesty to pronounce on meeting the Privy Council; the King, after thanking him, replied that he had already considered the Subject of his intended Address, to which he made a very important Addition with his own Hand, commented on with acrimonious Pleasantry by Wilkes, on Account of its defective Orthography. I mean, the memorable Declaration of his Pride in the Name of "*Briton*," or as it was there written, "*Britain*." The Minister, who perceived that Lord Bute had anticipated him in the proposed Address, made the unavoidable Inference. It was indeed sufficiently obvious, that however his Administration might nominally continue for some Time, yet his Influence and Authority were eclipsed or superseded.

Lord Bute, though in his private Character, if not irreproachable in all Respects, yet at least decorous and correct; nor by any Means deficient in Abilities; appears to have been nevertheless a very unfit Governor for such a Prince. There exists even no Doubt that George the Second opposed and disapproved his Appointment to that important

Office ; but, the Partiality and Perseverance of the Princess Dowager, prevailed over the old King's Repugnance. The Circumstance of Lord Bute's being a Native of Scotland, exposed him necessarily to malevolent Attacks of many Kinds ; a Fact at which, we who live in the present Century ought not to wonder, when we reflect how few Years had then elapsed since the Rebellion of 1745. Wilkes and Churchill, the one in Prose, the other in Poetry, always levelled their keenest Shafts against the Mother, and against the Minister, of the young Sovereign. His very Virtues became Matter of Reproach, of Ridicule, or of Satire. " Junius," some Years later, improving upon these first Attempts to degrade him in the Estimation of his Subjects, condensed all the Powers of Declamation in his memorable " Letter to the King." Yet, the Nation at large, candid and just, appreciated him fairly on his own Merits. During the most gloomy Periods of his Reign, while they lamented or reprobated the Measures of his various Administrations, from Lord Bute down to Lord North inclusive, with little Variation or Exception ; they admitted his personal Virtues to form no slender Extenuation of

his public Errors or Mistakes. His exemplary Discharge of every private Duty, balanced in their Estimate, the Misfortunes which his Pertinacity, Inflexibility, or injudicious Selection of his confidential Servants, had entailed upon the Country, and upon the Empire.

It was well known that George the Second and his Son, Frederic, Prince of Wales, during several Years previous to the Decease of the latter, lived on Terms of complete Alienation, or rather of Hostility. Scarcely indeed were any Measures observed, or was any Veil drawn before their mutual Recriminations. The Prince expired suddenly, in the Beginning of 1751, at Leicester House, in the Arms of Desnoyers, the celebrated Dancing-Master; who being near his Bed-side, engaged in playing on the Violin for His Royal Highness's Amusement, supported him in his last Moments. His End was ultimately caused by an internal Abscess, that had long been forming, in Consequence of a Blow which he received in the Side from a Cricket Ball, while he was engaged in playing at that Game, on the Lawn at Cliefden House in Buckinghamshire, where he then

principally resided. It did not take Place however, for several Months subsequent to the Accident. A Collection of Matter having been produced, which burst in his Throat, the Discharge instantly suffocated him. The King, his Father, though he never went to visit him during the whole Progress of his Illness, sent however constantly to make Enquiries; and received Accounts, every two Hours, of his State and Condition. But he was so far from despairing altogether of Frederic's Recovery, that on the contrary, he considered such an Event as highly probable, down to the very Evening on which His Royal Highness actually expired:—for I know, that only a short Time before, the King, being engaged in Conversation with the Countess of Yarmouth, when the Page entered, announcing that the Prince was better, “There now,” said His Majesty, turning to her, “I told you that he would not die.” On the Evening of his Decease, the 20th of March, George the Second had repaired, according to his usual Custom, to Lady Yarmouth's Apartments, situated on the Ground Floor in St. James's Palace, where a Party of Persons of Distinction of both Sexes, generally assembled for the Pur-

pose. His Majesty had just sat down to Play, and was engaged at Cards, when a Page, dispatched from Leicester House. arrived, bringing Information that the Prince was no more. He received the Intelligence without testifying any violent Emotion. Then rising, he crossed the Room to Lady Yarmouth's Table, who was likewise occupied at Play; and leaning over her Chair, said to her in a low tone of Voice, in German, "Fritz is dode." Freddy is dead. Having communicated it to her, he instantly withdrew. She followed him, the Company broke up, and the News became public. These Particulars were related to me by the late Lord Sackville, who made one of Lady Yarmouth's Party, and heard the King announce to her his Son's Decease.

Frederic seems never to have enjoyed from his early Youth, a distinguished Place in the Affection of his Father, whose Partiality was reserved for his youngest Son, William, Duke of Cumberland. During the last twelve Years of Frederic's Life, we know that he passed much of his Time, in Anticipations of his future Sovereignty; and in forming Administrations, which, like his own Reign,

were destined never to be realized. Among the Noblemen and Gentlemen who occupied a high Place in his Favor or Friendship, were Charles, Duke of Queensberry, the Patron of Gay, who died in 1778; Mr. Spencer, Brother to the second Duke of Marlborough, and commonly called Jack Spencer; Charles, Earl of Middlesex, afterwards Duke of Dorset, and his Brother, Lord John Sackville, together with Francis, Earl of Guildford. The personal Resemblance that existed between Lord North, (son of the last mentioned Peer, who was subsequently First Minister) and Prince George, was thought so striking, as to excite much Remark and Pleasantry on the Part of Frederic himself, who often jested on the Subject with Lord Guildford; observing, that the World would think one of their Wives had played her Husband false, though it might be doubtful, which of them lay under the Imputation. Persons who may be disposed to refine upon the Prince's Observation, will perhaps likewise be struck with other Points of physical Similarity between George the Third and Lord North; in particular, with the Loss of Sight, a Privation common to both in the Decline of Life.

Lady Archibald Hamilton formed during many Years, the Object of Frederic's avowed and particular Attachment. In order to be near him, she resided in Pall-Mall, in the House afterwards occupied by the late Lord Sackville, close to Carlton House; the Prince having allowed her to construct a Drawing-room, the Windows of which commanded over the Gardens of that Palace, and the House itself communicated with them. Towards Men of Genius, His Royal Highness always affected to extend his Protection. *Glover*, the Writer of "*Leonidas*," enjoyed his Confidence; though we may justly doubt how much of it was given to him as a Member of Parliament, the Friend of Pulteney and Pitt; how much was extended to him, as a Poet. The Prince shewed uncommon Deference for *Pope*, whom he visited at Twickenham; a Circumstance to which that Author alludes with natural Pride, when, after enumerating the great or illustrious Persons who honored him with their Regard and Friendship, he subjoins,

" And if yet higher the proud List should end,

" Still let me add, no Follower, but a Friend."

In Force of Character, Steadiness, Vigor of Mind, and the Qualities that fit Men for Government, even his Friends considered the Prince to be deficient. Nor was Economy to be numbered among the Virtues that he displayed; he having before his Decease contracted Debts to a large Amount, which were never discharged. Even through the Medium of Dodington's Description, who was partial to Frederic's Character and Memory, we cannot conceive any very elevated Idea of him. His Court seems to have been the Center of Cabal, the very Cave of Æolus, torn by contending Candidates for the Guidance of his future imaginary Reign. The Earl of Egmont, and Dodington himself, were avowedly at the Head of two great hostile Parties. In November, 1749, we find His Royal Highness, in a secret Conclave held at Carlton House, making all the financial Dispositions proper to be adopted on the Demise of the King, his Father; and framing a new Civil List. At the Close of these mock Deliberations, he binds the Three Assistants to abide by, and support his Plans; giving them his Hand, and making them take Hands with each other. The

Transaction, as narrated by Dodington, who was, himself, one of the Party, reminds the Reader of a similar Convocation commemorated by Sallust, and is not unlike one of the Scenes in "Venice preserved." It was performed, however, after Dinner, which may perhaps form its best Apology. The Diversions of the Prince's Court, appear to us equally puerile. Three times, within thirteen Months preceding his Decease, Dodington accompanied him and the Princess of Wales, to Fortune-tellers; the last of which Frolicks took place scarcely nine Weeks before his Death. After one of these magical Consultations, apparently dictated by Anxiety to penetrate his future Destiny; but, in Answer to which Enquiries, the Fortune-teller might have replied with Umbricius,

" Funus promittere Patris
Nec volo, nec possum ;"

the Party supped with Mrs. Cannon, the Princess's Midwife. Frederic used to go, disguised, to Hockley-in-the-Hole, to witness Bull-baiting. Either Lord Middlesex, or Lord John Sackville, Father to the late Duke of Dorset, were commonly his Com-

panions on such Expeditions. As far as we are authorized from these Premises, to form a Conclusion, his premature Death before he ascended the Throne, ought not to excite any great national Regret.

George the Second, who survived the Prince near ten Years, died at last not less suddenly than his Son, though at the advanced Age of Seventy-seven; a Period attained by no Sovereign in modern History, except Louis the Fourteenth. A Rupture in some of the Vessels, or in the Membrane of the Heart, carried him off in a few Minutes. During his whole Life, but, particularly for a number of Years before his Decease, he had been subject to such constant Palpitations about the Region of the Heart, especially after Dinner, that he always took off his Cloaths, and reposed himself for an Hour in Bed, of an Afternoon. In order to accommodate himself to this Habit or Infirmary, Mr. Pitt, when, as Secretary of State, he was sometimes necessitated to transact Business with the King during the Time that he lay down, always knelt on a Cushion by the Bed-side; a Mark of Respect which contributed to render him not a little ac-

ceptable to His Majesty. At his rising, George the Second dressed himself completely a second Time, and commonly passed the Evening at Cards, with Lady Yarmouth, in a select Party. His Sight had greatly failed him, for some Time preceding his Decease. I have heard Mr. Fraser say, who was during many Years, Under Secretary of State, that in 1760, a few Months before the King died, having presented a Paper to him for his Signature, at Kensington, (probably at a Time when the Secretary of State was prevented by Indisposition from performing that Duty, or by some other indispensable Cause, which Fraser did not explain;) George the Second took the Pen in his Hand; and after, as he conceived affixing his Name to it, returned it to Fraser. But, so defective was his Vision, that he had neither dipped his Pen in the Ink, nor did he perceive that of Course he had only drawn it over the Paper, without making any Impression. Fraser, aware of the King's Blindness, yet, unwilling to let His Majesty perceive that he discovered it, said, "Sir, I have given you so bad a Pen, that it will not write. Allow me to present you a better Pen for the Purpose."

Then dipping it himself in the Ink, he returned it to the King, who, without making any Remark, instantly signed the Paper.

He was unquestionably an honest, well-intentioned, and good Prince; of very moderate, but, not mean Talents; frugal in his Expenses, from natural Character: more inclined to Avarice than any King of England since Henry the Seventh; irascible and hasty, as well as capable of imbibing strong Prejudices of many Kinds; but, not vindictive in his Temper. Imbued with a strong Enmity to France, and as warm a Predilection for Germany, he never enjoyed such Felicity as when at Herenhausen, surrounded with his Hanoverian Courtiers and Subjects. William the Third in like Manner, seemed to taste much more Happiness, while hunting at Loo, amidst the sterile Sands of Guelderland, than at Whitehall, or at Hampton Court. At the Battle of Dettingen, in 1743, it is well known that George the Second's Horse, which was unruly, ran away with him to a considerable Distance. General Cyrus Trapaud, then an Ensign, by seizing the Horse's Bridle, enabled His Majesty to dismount in Safety. "Now that I am once on my Legs," said he, "I

“ am sure I shall not run away.” Having enquired Trapaud’s Name, the King always distinguished him afterwards in military Promotions. When incensed either with his Ministers, or with his Attendants, he was sometimes not Master of his Actions, nor attentive to preserve his Dignity. On these Occasions, his Hat, and it is asserted, even his Wig, became frequently the Objects on which he expended his Anger.

Queen Caroline, by her Address, her judicious Compliances, and her Activity of Character, maintained, down to the Time of her Decease in 1737, a great Ascendant over him. She formed the chief conducting Wire between the Sovereign and his First Minister. It is a Fact, that Sir Robert Walpole and Her Majesty managed Matters with so much Art, as to keep up a secret Understanding by Watch-words, even in the Drawing-room, when and where George the Second was present. According to the King’s Temper, Frame of Mind, or Practicability on the Points which Sir Robert wished to carry, the Queen signified to him whether to proceed, or to desist, on that particular Day. This Communication was so well preconcert-

ed, and so delicately executed, as to be imperceptible by the By-standers. Sir Robert lost a most able and vigilant Ally, when Queen Caroline died. Her Decease was indeed a Misfortune to her Husband, to her Children, and to the Nation. She sacrificed her Life to the Desire of concealing her Complaint; a Rupture of the Bowels, which might have been easily reduced, if she had not delayed the Disclosure of it, till a Mortification took Place. We have not possessed since Elizabeth's Death, a Queen of more Talent, Capacity, and Strength of Understanding, than Caroline of Brandenburgh Anspach. Anne of Denmark, Wife of James the First, was a Woman of mean Endowments, deficient in Judgment, and of doubtful moral Character. Henrietta Maria of France, possessed great personal Beauty, Charms of Conversation, and Graces of Deportment: but, she was violent, bigotted in her Attachment to the Catholic Faith, and conduced by her imprudent Counsels, to accelerate the Ruin of Charles the First. Catherine of Braganza, though a Woman of Virtue, wanted every Attraction of Mind or of Body; and Mary of Modena, James the Second's Queen, however agreeable in her Person, as

well as correct in her Conduct she might be, was superstitious to Excess; and from that Circumstance unfit for the Throne of England, though she might have adorned a little Italian Court. Mary, Consort of William the Third, approached the nearest to Queen Caroline, but, did not equal her in mental Endowments. The last Princess of the Stuart Line, Anne, though in private Life amiable, virtuous, and blameless, cannot enter into any Competition with Caroline of Brandenburg Anspach.

At the time of his Decease, George the Second certainly enjoyed great and universal Popularity: but, to Mr. Pitt, afterwards created Earl of Chatham, he was eminently indebted for this gratifying Distinction at the Close of Life, when Victory was said to have erected her Altar between his aged Knees. The Misfortunes and Disgraces which preceded Pitt's Entrance into Office, had in fact forced him upon the King; who, notwithstanding that Minister's recognized Talents, did not employ him without the utmost Reluctance. The inglorious naval Engagement that took Place in the Mediterranean, between Byng and La Galissoniere; for his

Conduct during which Action, the former of those Admirals suffered Death; the consequent Loss of Minorca; the Defeat of General Braddock in Carolina; the Repulse sustained before Ticonderago; the ignominious Capitulation of William, Duke of Cumberland, at Closter-Seven, afterwards eluded or violated; and the disgraceful Expedition against Rochfort;—these ill-concerted, or ill-executed Measures, at the Commencement of the War of 1756, had not only brought the Administration into Contempt, but, had much diminished the National Affection borne towards the Sovereign. From the Period of Pitt's Nomination to a Place in the Cabinet, Success almost uniformly attended on the British Arms. Though only occupying the Post of Secretary of State, he directed, or rather he dictated the Operations, at Home and Abroad. The Treasury, the Admiralty, the War Office, all obeyed his Orders with prompt and implicit Submission. Lord Anson and the Duke of Newcastle, sometimes, it is true, remonstrated, and often complained; but, always finished by Compliance. In the full Career of Pitt's ministerial Triumphs, George the Second died; an Event which it is impossible not

to consider as having been a great national Misfortune, when we reflect on the Nature of the Peace which took place little more than two Years afterwards, in November, 1762. Mr. Pitt, we may be assured, would have dictated far different Terms to the two Branches of the House of Bourbon. The new King did not indeed immediately dismiss so able and popular a Statesman; but, it was soon suspected that his Administration, though it might languish, or continue for a few Months, would not prove of long Duration. Lord Bute had already secured the exclusive Regard and Favor of the young Monarch.

The late Mrs. Boscawen, Widow of the Admiral of that Name, so distinguished in our Naval Annals, whose Connexions enabled her to collect many curious Facts in the course of a long Life; has often assured me, that Lord Bute's first personal Introduction to the Prince of Wales, originated in a very singular Accident. That Nobleman, as is well known, married the only Daughter of the celebrated Lady Mary Wortley Montague, by whom he had a very numerous Family. She brought him eventually like-

wise a large landed Property: but, as her Father, Mr. Wortley, did not die till the Year 1761; and as her Brother, the eccentric Edward Wortley Montague, lived to a much later Period; I believe, down to 1777; Lord Bute, encumbered with a Number of Children, found his patrimonial Fortune very unequal to maintaining the Figure befitting his Rank in Life. After passing some Years in profound Retirement, on his Estate in the Isle of Bute, he re-visited England, and took a House on the Banks of the Thames. During his Residence there, he was induced to visit Egham Races, about the Year 1747. But, as he either did not at that Time keep a Carriage, or did not use it to convey him to the Race Ground, he condescended to accompany a medical Acquaintance; in other words, the Apothecary that attended His Lordship's Family, who carried him there in his own Chariot. Frederic, Prince of Wales, who then resided at Cliefden, honored the Races on that Day, with his Presence; where a Tent was pitched for his Accommodation, and the Reception of the Princess, his Consort. The Weather proving rainy, it was proposed, in order to amuse his Royal Highness before his return Home, to make

a Party at Cards: but a Difficulty occurred about finding Persons of sufficient Rank to sit down at the same Table with him. While they remained under this Embarrassment, somebody observed that Lord Bute had been seen on the Race Ground; who, as being an Earl, would be peculiarly proper to make one of the Prince's Party. He was soon found, informed of the Occasion which demanded his Attendance, brought to the Tent, and presented to Frederic. When the Company broke up, Lord Bute thought of returning back to his own House: but his Friend the Apothecary had disappeared; and with him had disappeared the Chariot, in which his Lordship had been brought to Egham Races. The Prince was no sooner made acquainted with the Circumstance, than he insisted on Lord Bute's accompanying him to Cliefden, and there passing the Night. He complied, rendered himself extremely acceptable to their Royal Highnesses, and thus laid the Foundation, under a succeeding Reign, of his political Elevation, which flowed originally in some Measure from this strange Contingency.

Lord Bute, when young, possessed a very

handsome Person, of which Advantage he was not insensible; and he used to pass many Hours every Day, as his Enemies asserted, occupied in contemplating the Symmetry of his own Legs, during his solitary Walks by the side of the Thames. Even after he became an Inmate at Cliefden, and at Leicester House, he frequently played the Part of “Lothario,” in the private Theatricals exhibited for the Amusement of their Royal Highnesses, by the late Duchess of Queensbury. To this Fact Wilkes alludes with malignant Ridicule, in his memorable Letter of the “15th of March, 1763,” addressed to the Earl of Bute, where He says, “In one *Part*, which was remarkably *humane* and *amiable*, you were so great, that the general Exclamation was, *here you did not act*. In another *Part*, you were no less perfect: I mean, in the famous Scene of *Hamlet*, where you pour *fatal Poison into the Ear* of a good unsuspecting King.” Besides so many external Accomplishments, he possessed a cultivated Mind, illuminated by a Taste for various Branches of the fine Arts and Letters. For the Study of Botany he nourished a decided Passion, which he gratified to the utmost; and in the Indul-

gence of which Predilection, he manifested on some Occasions, a princely Liberality. Dr. Hill, commonly denominated *Sir John* after he received the Swedish Order of *Vasa* from Gustavus the Third, was one of the Objects of his Bounty. Nor did He fail in extending his Protection and Patronage to Men of Letters : but it cannot be denied that he manifested some national Partiality in their Selection. *John Home*, the Author of “ *Douglas*,” a Tragedy which attained a Reputation superior to its Merits; as well as *Mallet*, or *Malloch*, (for his Name was differently written,) and *Murphy*, all partook of the ministerial Favor. So did *James Macpherson*, who ushered into the World some of the Poems of Ossian, under the immediate Auspices of the first Lord of the Treasury.

Of a Disposition naturally retired and severe, Lord Bute was not formed for an extensive Commerce with Mankind, or endowed by Nature with Talents for managing popular Assemblies. Even in the Interior of his Family he was austere, harsh, difficult of Access, and sometimes totally inaccessible to his own Children. In the House of Lords he

neither displayed Eloquence, nor Graciousness of Manners. But he proved himself likewise deficient in a Quality still more essential for a First Minister, Firmness of Character. Yet, with these political Defects of Mind, and of personal Deportment, he undertook to displace, and he aspired to succeed Mr. Pitt, at a Moment when that Minister had carried the Glory of the British Arms to an unexampled Height, by Sea and Land. We cannot sufficiently regret that George the Third should not have contented himself with heaping Honors and Dignities on him, carefully excluding him from any political Employment. Few Princes, however, of whom History preserves any Record; have manifested at Twenty-three, a Judgment so superior to the natural Partialities of Youth. Even Elizabeth, though She placed Cecil at the Head of her Councils, yet committed her Armies successively to the Conduct of her two Favourites, the Earls of Leicester and Essex.

After an Administration of about two Years, passed either in the Post of Secretary of State, or as First Lord of the Treasury; during which Time he brought the War with

France and Spain to a Conclusion; Lord Bute abandoning his royal Master, quitted his Situation, and again withdrew to private Life. No Testimonies of national Regret, or of national Estéem, accompanied him at his Departure from Office. His magnificent House in Berkeley Square, though scarcely completed, exposed him to very malignant Comments, respecting the means by which he had reared so expensive a Pile. His Enemies asserted that he could not possibly have possessed the Ability, either from his patrimonial Fortune, or in Consequence of his Marriage, to erect such a Structure. As little could he be supposed to have amassed wherewithal, during his very short Administration, to suffice for its Construction. The only satisfactory Solution of the Difficulty therefore, lay in imagining, however unjustly, that he had either received Presents from France, or had made large Purchases in the Public Funds previous to the Signature of the Preliminaries. “Junius,” addressing the Duke of Bedford, who signed that Peace, in his Letter of the “19th September, 1769,” written within Seven Years afterwards; charges the Duke in the most unequivocal Terms, with betraying and sel-

ling his Country. "Your Patrons," says he, "wanted an Ambassador who would submit to make Concessions, without daring to insist upon any honorable Condition for his Sovereign. Their Business required a Man, who had as little Feeling for his own Dignity, as for the Welfare of his Country; and they found him in the first Rank of the Nobility. Belleisle, Goree, Gaudaloupe, St. Lucia, Martinique, the Fishery, and the Havannah, are glorious Monuments of your Grace's Talents for Negotiation. My Lord, we are too well acquainted with your pecuniary Character, to think it possible that so many public Sacrifices should have been made, without some private Compensations. Your Conduct carries with it an internal Evidence, beyond all the legal Proofs of a Court of Justice." Such an anonymous Charge, however fascinating or energetic may be the Language in which it is cloathed, certainly ought not to be considered as Proof; but, no Answer was ever made to it either by the Duke, or by any of his Friends, if we except Sir William Draper's vague and unauthorized Letter of the "7th of October, 1769."

Dr. Musgrave, an English Physician, who practised Medicine at Paris in 1763, and whose Name has been known in the Republic of Letters, by the Publication of some Tragedies of Euripides; did not scruple to assert publicly, that the Princess Dowager of Wales and Lord Bute received Money from the French Court, for aiding to effect the Peace. I am acquainted with the Individuals, Gentlemen of the highest Honor and most unimpeached Veracity, to whom Dr. Musgrave himself related the Circumstance, at Paris, in 1764, almost immediately after the Treaty of Fontainebleau. And if I do not name them, it is only because they are still alive. Dr. Musgrave did not retract his Accusation, when he was examined at the Bar of the House of Commons, some Years afterwards, in the Month of January, 1770, upon the same Point. He maintained on the contrary, his original Assertion, which he supported by Facts or Circumstances calculated to authenticate its Truth; though the House thought proper to declare it “ Frivolous, and unworthy of Credit.” “ Junius,” writing in the Month of May, 1770, says, “ Through the whole Proceedings of the House of Commons in this

“ Session, there is an apparent, a palpable
“ Consciousness of Guilt, which has pre-
“ vented their daring to assert their own
“ Dignity, where it has been immediately
“ and grossly attacked. In the Course of
“ Dr. Musgrave’s Examination, he said
“ every Thing that can be conceived mortifi-
“ fying to Individuals, or offensive to the
“ House. They voted his Information fri-
“ volous; but, they were awed by his Firm-
“ ness and Integrity, and sunk under it.”
Dr. Musgrave resided in this Country,
during the last Years of his Life; and died,
I believe, at Exeter, in the Summer of the
Year 1780.

Similar Reflections indeed, at different
Periods of our History, have been thrown
not only upon Ministers, but, even upon
Kings. Lord Clarendon, when Chancellor,
under Charles the Second, having, like
Lord Bute, undertaken to build a magnificent
House in London, soon after the Sale
of Dunkirk to Louis the Fourteenth, about
1664; it was named by the People “Dun-
kirk House,” on the Supposition of its hav-
ing been raised by French Money. No
Person can doubt of Charles the Second

himself having received large Sums from the Court of Versailles, for Purposes inimical to the Interests of his People. So did his Successor, James the Second. Bribes were even confidently said and believed to have been given to various of the Courtiers or Favourites of William the Third, from the East-India Company, and other Corporate Bodies, in order to procure the Consent or Approbation of the Sovereign, to the Renewal of their Charters. The Duchess of Kendal, Mistress of George the First; as well as Craggs, Father of the Secretary of State of the same Name, and himself at the Time, Post Master General; together with other Individuals about the Court or Person of that Monarch, were either known or supposed to have been implicated in the Transactions of the memorable South Sea Year, 1720, when such immense Sums were gained and lost in that ruinous Speculation. Malignity did not spare the King himself, who, it was asserted, became a Sharer in the Acquisitions. Lord Bute, at the distance of half a Century, is still believed by many Persons to have rendered the Treaty of Fontainbleau subservient to his private Emolument: a Supposition which, however un-

just or unmerited it may be, was again renewed Twenty Years later, at the Conclusion of the Peace of 1783, against Lord Shelburne, with greater Virulence, and with bolder Affirmations! Such were the unfortunate Results of the Earl of Bute's Ministry, which must be considered as having given the first Blow to the Popularity enjoyed by the King, at his Accession to the Throne.

It is an indisputable Fact that Lord Bute, terrified or disgusted at the Indications of Resentment shewn towards him by the Nation, forsook his Master; and that he was not dismissed or abandoned by the Sovereign. He was the first, though not the last Minister, who in the Course of the present Reign, exhibited that example of Timidity, or Weariness, or Desertion. But, his ostensible Relinquishment of Office, by no Means restored to the King, the Confidence or the Affections of his Subjects. Even when nominally divested of Power, Lord Bute was still supposed to direct, unseen, the Wheels of Government. However false and unfounded might be this Imputation, and such I have ever considered it, yet it operated with irresistible Force. A Cry of secret Influence

arose, more pernicious in its Effects on the Country at large, than even the open Accusations lately levelled against the Incapacity, or pretended Venality of the First Minister. The Grenville Administration, which succeeded, was stigmatized as being only a Machine, the Puppets of which were agitated by concealed Wires. It is obvious, that no Charge in the Power of Malevolence to invent and circulate, could be more calculated to prejudice the King in the Estimation of his People. But, it became further augmented by another Topic of Abuse and Declamation, founded on the extraordinary Degree of personal Favor enjoyed by Lord Bute at Carlton House, and the Predilection with which he was known to be regarded by the Princess Dowager of Wales. Satirical Prints, generally dispersed throughout the Kingdom, in which her Royal Highness was not at all spared, inflamed the public Mind. Comparisons, drawn from English History, particularly from the Reign of Edward the Third, when the Queen Dowager Isabella, and Mortimer her Favourite, were known or supposed to have lived in a criminal Union;—these Allusions, which were disseminated in all the periodical Works of the Time, and

particularly in the “North Briton,” made a deep Impression.

Even the filial Deference and Respect, manifested by his Majesty after his Accession, down to the last Moment of her Life, towards his Mother, was converted into a Subject not only of Censure, but of Accusation, as originating in unworthy Motives, or in culpable Subservience. It cannot however be denied that Lord Bute enjoyed a higher Place in that Princess’s Favor, if not in her Affection, than seemed compatible with strict Propriety. His Visits to Carlton House, which were always performed in the Evening; and the Precautions taken to conceal his Arrival; though they might perhaps have been dictated more by an Apprehension of Insult from the Populace, to whom he was obnoxious, than from any improper Reasons; yet awakened Suspicion. He commonly made use on these Occasions, of the Sedan Chair and the Chairmen of Miss Vansittart, a Lady who held a distinguished Place in Her Royal Highness’s Family. In order more effectually to elude Notice, the Curtains of the Chair were close drawn. The Repartee of Miss Chudleigh, afterwards better

known as Duchess of Kingston, at that Time a Maid of Honor at Carlton House; when reproached by her royal Mistress, for the Irregularities of her Conduct, obtained likewise much Publicity. "*Votre Altesse Royale sait,*" replied she, "*que chacune a son But.*" As the King was accustomed to repair frequently of Evenings to Carlton House, and there to pass a considerable Time, the World supposed, tho' probably with great Injustice, that the Sovereign, his Mother, and the Ex-Minister met, in Order to concert, and to compare their Ideas; thus forming a sort of interior Cabinet, which controuled and directed the ostensible Administration.

That after having so precipitately thrown up the ministerial Reins in 1763, Lord Bute felt desirous of again resuming his political Power, I know from good Authority. And that he was aided in the Attempt by the Princess, with all her Influence, is equally matter of Fact; but their joint Efforts proved unavailing to effect the Object. A Nobleman, who was accustomed at that Time to form one of the Party which met at Carlton House, and who usually remained there

while his Majesty stayed; assured me that every Measure had been concerted between her Royal Highness and Lord Bute, for the purpose of bringing him again into Ministry. As the first necessary Step towards its Accomplishment, they agreed that he should endeavour to obtain Permission to see the Dispatches, which were often sent to the King from the Secretary of State, while he continued with his Mother. On those Occasions, when the green Box containing Letters or Papers, arrived, he always withdrew into another Room, in order to peruse them at his Ease. Lord Bute, as had been pre-arranged, upon the Messenger bringing a Dispatch, immediately took up two Candles, and proceeded before the King to the Closet; expecting that his Majesty, when they were alone together, would communicate to him its Nature; and that he should thus begin again to transact Business. But, the King, unquestionably aware of the Intention, and probably disgusted at the want of Firmness which his Minister had formerly shewn, or from other unascertained Causes, extinguished at once the Hopes entertained from this Project. When he came to the Door of the Room, he stopped, took the Candles out

of Lord Bute's Hand, and then dismissing him, shut the Door; after which he proceeded to examine the Dispatches, alone. Lord Bute returned to the Company, and the Experiment was never repeated.

If the Selection of that Nobleman for the Office of First Minister, and the Dismission of Mr. Pitt, deprived the King of the Affections of many loyal Subjects; the Terms upon which the Treaty of Fontainbleau was concluded, early in 1763, by Lord Bute, excited the strongest Sensations of general Disapprobation throughout the Country. I am old enough to remember the Expressions of that Condemnation, which, it is impossible not to admit, were well founded. When we reflect that the Navy of France had been nearly annihilated, as early as 1759, by Sir Edward Hawke, in the Action which took Place at Quiberon; that Spain could make little or no Opposition to us on the Ocean; and that we were Masters of Quebec, Montreal, together with all Canada; Cape Breton, Pondicherry, Goree, Belleisle, the Havannah, and a large Part of Cuba; besides the Islands of Martinique and Guadaloupe; not to mention the Capture of Manilla, which,

on Account of its remote Position in the Eastern Seas, was not then known :—while, on the other Hand, the Enemy, though they probably would have effected the Conquest or Reduction of Portugal, in the Course of the ensuing Campaign, yet had taken nothing from us, which they had retained, except Minorca ;—when we consider these Facts, what shall we say to a Peace, which restored to the two Branches of the House of Bourbon, every Possession above enumerated, except Canada ?—for, as to Cape Breton, tho' it was ceded to us, yet, when dismantled, it became only an useless Desert. Accepting, as we did, in Exchange for so many valuable Colonies or Settlements in every Quarter of the Globe, the Cession of the two Floridas from the Crown of Spain, together with the Restitution of Minorca by France. At the Distance of more than half a Century, when the Passions and Prejudices of the Hour have ceased, we cannot consider such a Treaty without Astonishment and Concern. Scarcely indeed does the Peace of Utrecht justly awaken warmer Feelings of Indignation ; for concluding which Pacification, its Authors were impeached imprisoned, or compelled to fly their Country. If

Lord Bute escaped the Fate of Lord Oxford and Lord Bolingbroke, he has not been more exempt than were those Ministers, from the Censures of his Contemporaries and of Posterity. Nor did Queen Anne perhaps sustain a greater Loss of Reputation and Popularity, by signing the Treaty of Utrecht, than George the Third suffered by concluding that of Fontainbleau. Its Impolicy appears not less glaring, nor less obvious, than its Defects of every other Kind. The Expulsion of the French from Canada, and of the Spaniards from Florida, by liberating the American Colonies from all Apprehension of foreign Enemies, laid the inevitable Foundation of their Rebellion; and effected their subsequent Emancipation from Great Britain, within the space of twenty Years. This necessary Result of such Measures, perfectly foreseen at the Time, was pointed out by Dr. Tucker, Dean of Gloucester, as well as by others. The House of Bourbon, soon recovering from the Wounds inflicted by Pitt, contested anew, with better Success, for the Empire of the Sea. Neither the Havannah, Belleisle, nor Manilla, have ever passed a second Time under the Power of the English. If we weigh these Circum-

stances, we shall not wonder that Motives unworthy of an upright Minister, or of an able Statesman, were attributed to Lord Bute. Nor shall we be surprized, that the Incapacity or Errors of the Administration, diminished in no small Degree the Respect justly inspired by the private Virtues of the Sovereign.

The injudicious Persecution of Wilkes, completed the Unpopularity, which Lord Bute's Person and Measures had begun to produce throughout the Nation. Whatever might have been the Misconduct of Wilkes; and however deficient he might have appeared in those moral Qualities which entitle to public Respect, or even to individual Approbation: yet, from the Instant that he became an Object of Royal or Ministerial Resentment, on account of his Attachment to the Cause of Freedom, he found Protectors in the Public. Neither his Wit, his Talents, nor his Courage, could have raised him to political Eminence, if he had not been singled out for severe, not to say unconstitutional, Prosecution. The two Secretaries of State, and the Lord Steward of the Household, had they been hired by his

worst Enemies, to injure their Royal Master in the Esteem of his People; and to throw, as it were, upon *him*, the Odium of *their* Violence, or Incapacity, or Ignorance; could not have done it more effectually, than by the Line of Action which they adopted. Lord Talbot is consigned to eternal Ridicule, (as Pope says that Cromwell is “Damned to everlasting Fame;”) in that incomparable Letter written by Wilkes to the late Earl Temple, on the 5th of October, 1762; descriptive of the entertaining Duel fought at Bagshot only two Hours before, where the Lord Steward appears in the most contemptible Point of View. The Earls of Egremont and Halifax, by issuing a General Warrant for the Seizure of Wilkes, and taking his Person into Custody; while they compromised the Majesty of the Crown, trampled on the Liberties of the Subject, and violated the Essence of the English Constitution. Men who commented with Severity on these Measures of impolitic Resentment, arraigned them as more characteristic of the vindictive Administration of James the Second, than becoming the mild Government of George the Third. Wilkes, nevertheless, wounded in a Duel, repeatedly menaced with Assassi-

nation, pursued by the House of Commons, and outlawed by the Court of King's Bench ; withdrew into France, where he insensibly sunk into Oblivion. His very Name, and his public Merits, as well as his private Sufferings, seemed to be equally forgotten by the Nation, during two or three Years.

But, the Duke of Grafton, who had become first Minister, after the Extinction of the short and feeble Administration of Lord Rockingham, appeared as if desirous to improve upon the Errors, and to renew the most unpopular Acts of his Predecessor, Lord Bute. Instead of wisely extending the Pardon of the Crown to Mr. Wilkes, or treating him with magnanimous Contempt, when he returned from Paris ; the Duke, in Defiance of their past Intimacy and Familiarity, put in Force the Penalties of his Sentence of Outlawry ; thus rendering him a second Time, the Object of general Compassion and Protection. Rejected as a Candidate to represent the City of London, he was elected Member for the County of Middlesex. Tumultuous or disorderly Assemblies of the People in St. George's Fields, whom it was esteemed necessary to repress

by a military Force; and in performing which Service, some Individuals who apparently had taken no part in the Riots, were killed or wounded; exasperated the Nation against the Authors of such Severities. The House of Commons adopting the Principles, as well as the Enmities of the Administration, expelled Wilkes from his Seat, declared him ineligible to sit among them, and placed Colonel Luttrell in his Room. While the Pardon of the Crown was extended to Persons convicted of the most sanguinary Outrages and Violence during the Election at Brentford; by Measures of consummate Incapacity, a popular Individual was singled out for the whole Vengeance of the Government and the Legislature. The Tumults of London in March, 1769, which menaced with Insult or Attack, even the Palace of the Sovereign, bore no feeble Resemblance to the riotous Disorders that preceded the Civil Wars, under Charles the First. A Hearse, followed by the Mob, was driven into the Court Yard at St. James's, decorated with Insignia of the most humiliating or indecent Description. I have always understood that the late Lord Mountmorris, then a very young Man, was

the Person who on that Occasion personated the Executioner, holding an Axe in his Hands, and his Face covered with a Crape. The King's Firmness did not however forsake him, in the midst of these trying Ebullitions of Democratic Rage. He remained calm and unmoved in the Drawing-room, while the Streets surrounding his Residence, echoed with the Shouts of an enraged Multitude, who seemed disposed to proceed to the greatest Extremities. But, the Duke of Grafton did not manifest equal Constancy, nor display the same Resolution as his Master. It seemed to be the Fate of George the Third to be served by Ministers, as much his Inferiors in personal and political Courage, as in every other moral or estimable Quality.

Another Opponent, still more formidable than Mr. Wilkes, had arisen amidst these Convulsions of the Capital and the Country; who, from the Place of his Concealment, like Paris in the "Iliad," inflicted the severest Wounds, and who seems to have eluded all Discovery, down to the present Hour. It is obvious that I mean "Junius." This celebrated Writer, whom the obtrusive

and imprudent Vanity of Sir William Draper, even more than his own matchless Powers of Composition, originally forced upon the Notice of the Public, first appeared in January, 1769. His opening Letter, addressed to the Printer of the “Public Advertiser,” then a popular Newspaper, depicts in the blackest Colours, the Situation of the Country; dishonoured, as he asserts, in the Eyes of foreign Nations; disunited, oppressed, and ill-administered at Home. Like Satan, when invoking his stupified and fallen Associates, he seems to exclaim, while endeavouring to rouse the English Nation from their political Apathy,

“Awake, arise, or be for ever fallen!”

The Conclusion of his opening Address, operated with amazing Effect, and can hardly be exceeded in Energy. “If,” says he, “by the immediate Interposition of Providence, it were possible for us to escape a Crisis so full of Terror and Despair, Posterity will not believe the History of the present Times.—They will not believe it possible that their Ancestors could have survived or recovered from

“so desperate a Condition, while a Duke
“of Grafton was Prime Minister; a Lord
“North, Chancellor of the Exchequer; a
“Weymouth, and a Hillsborough, Secre-
“taries of State; a Granby, Commander
“in Chief; and Mansfield, Chief Criminal
“Judge of the Kingdom.” After transfix-
ing with his keenest Shafts, the Com-
mander in Chief of the Forces, the Lord
Chief Justice of the King’s Bench, and the
Duke of Bedford, he fastened, like a Vul-
ture, on the First Minister. With an Acri-
mony and Ability that have perhaps never
been equalled by any political Writer, he
endeavoured to point the Public Indignation
equally against the Person and the Mea-
sures of the Duke of Grafton. Superior in
Beauty of Diction, and all the Elegance of
literary Composition, to Lord Bolingbroke;
not inferior to Swift, in Closeness, as well
as Correctness of Style, and in force of Sa-
tire; the Letters of “Junius” will be read as
long as the English Language endures. Nor
did his Pen, after exposing the Want of
Spirit and Energy in the Government, re-
spect even the Majesty of the Throne. In
his memorable “Letter to the King;” dated
the 19th of December, 1769, which cannot

be perused without a Mixture of Admiration and Indignation, he too successfully labours to render even the Virtues of the Sovereign, suspicious and odious ; while he attempts to degrade the Royal Character, in the Opinions of his Subjects. The Avidity with which these Publications were then sought after and perused, is difficult to be conceived at the present Time, and never was exceeded at any Period of our History. “Junius” may indeed justly be reckoned among the leading Causes which drove the Duke of Grafton from the Helm of Affairs.

I have been assured by Persons of Honor and Veracity, who were in the Habits of continually seeing Mr. Bradshaw, then Secretary of the Treasury, and of knowing his private Sentiments ; that he made no Secret to them, of the Agony into which the Duke of Grafton was thrown by these Productions. Such was their Effect and Operation on his Mind, as sometimes utterly to incapacitate him during whole Days, for the ministerial Duties of his Office. There are nevertheless, many who believe and assert, that his sudden Resignation was not so much produced by the Attacks of “Junius,”

as it originated from another Quarter. It has been pretended that the Princess Dowager of Wales, highly indignant at the Mention made of her Name, in the Examination and Depositions of Dr. Musgrave at the Bar of the House of Commons ; remonstrated strongly with the King, on the Supineness of his first Minister, in permitting, or rather in not suppressing such parliamentary Enquiries. However the Fact may be, it is certain that at a Moment when such an Event was least expected, in January, 1770, he resigned his Office ; giving, as Lord Bute had done before, another Instance of Ministerial Dereliction, but, not the last of the Kind which has occurred in the Course of the present Reign. Lord North, who succeeded to his Place, inherited likewise a considerable Portion of his Unpopularity.

Having mentioned the Subject, and the Productions of “ Junius,” it seems impossible to dismiss them without making some Allusion to their Author. I have always considered that Secret, as the best kept of any in our Time. It was, indeed, on many Accounts, and for many Reasons, a Secret of the most perilous Nature. For, the

Offences given, and the Wounds inflicted by his Pen, were too deep, and too severe, to admit of Forgiveness, when we reflect that living Sovereigns and Ministers formed the Objects selected for his Attack. I have been assured that the King riding out in the Year 1772, accompanied by his Equerry, General Desaguliers, said to him in Conversation, “ We know who *Junius* is, and he “ will write no more.” The General, who was too good a Courtier to congratulate upon such a Piece of Intelligence, contented himself with bowing, and the Discourse proceeded no further. Mrs. Shuttleworth, who was General Desaguliers’s Daughter, believed in the Accuracy of this Fact; but I nevertheless report it with becoming Doubt. If, however, the King had penetrated to the Secret, I do not believe that the Duke of Grafton, or the first Lord Mansfield, had arrived at any Certitude on the Point, though their Suspicions might be strongly directed towards some one Individual. It is certain that Sir William Draper died in Ignorance of his Antagonist; and that he continued to express, down to a very short Time before his Decease, which took place at Bath, his Concern at the Prospect of

going out of Life, uninformed on the Subject. Lord North either did not know, or professed not to know, his Name. The late Lord Temple protested the same Ignorance. He must nevertheless have lain within a very narrow Circle : for, every Evidence, internal and external, proves him to have been a Person of pre-eminent Parts, admirable Information, high Connexions, living almost constantly in the Metropolis, and in good Company ; ignorant of nothing which was done at St. James's, in the Two Houses of Parliament, in the War Office, or in the Courts of Law ; and personally acquainted with many Anecdotes or Facts, only to be attained by Men moving in the first Ranks of Society. I do not speak of his classical Attainments ; because those might have been found among mere Men of Letters. “ Junius ” was a Man of the World. Henry Sampson Woodfall, who printed the Letters themselves, was ignorant of the Name or Quality of the Writer, and remained so during his whole Life. Who then, we repeat, was He ?

Many Individuals have become successively Objects of Suspicion, or of Accusa-

tion. Lord *George Germain*, Father of the present Duke of Dorset, was named among others. I knew him very intimately, and have frequently conversed with him on the Subject. He always declared his Ignorance of the Author, but he appeared to be gratified and flattered by the Belief or Imputation lighting on himself. As far, however, as my Opinion can have any Weight, though, in common with Mankind at large, I estimated very highly Lord George's Talents, I considered them as altogether unequal to such literary Productions. And I possessed the best Means, as well as Opportunities of forming my Judgment, from his Conversation and Correspondence, both which I enjoyed for several Years. Indeed, I apprehend it is unnecessary to waste much Time in attempting to disprove such a Supposition, which has few Advocates or Supporters. Those Persons who originally suggested, or who continue to maintain it, found the Opinion principally on the Attack of Lord Granby, contained in "Junius's" first Letter. But, if we examine that Composition, we shall see that the Marquis is by no means singled out for Animadversion. He only attracts his Portion of Satire, as a

constituent Member of the Cabinet; and it was Sir William Draper's officious Vanity which rendered him unfortunately more conspicuous than the Duke of Grafton, or Lord Mansfield. "It is you, Sir William Draper," says Junius, "who have taken care to re-
" present your Friend in the Character of a
" drunken Landlord, who deals out his
" Promises as liberally as his Liquor, and
" will suffer no Man to leave his Table
" either sorrowful or sober." And in a subsequent Letter he observes, "I should
" justly be suspected of acting upon Mo-
" tives of more than common Enmity to
" Lord Granby, if I continued to give you
" fresh Materials, or Occasion for writing
" in his Defence." If, indeed, Lord George Germain was "Junius," his Powers of Composition had suffered a Diminution between 1770 and 1780, and no longer continued as powerful at the latter Period, as they had been ten Years earlier in Life. But, no Man preserved at near Seventy, the Freshness and Strength of his Faculties in every Branch, more perfect or undiminished than that Nobleman. Nor, from the Knowledge which I possessed of his Loyalty, and Attachment to the Person of his Sovereign, do

I believe that any Motives or Feelings could ever have induced him to address to His Majesty, the “Letter of *Junius* to the King.”

As little do I conceive *Wilkes* to have been the Man. I knew him likewise well, though not with the same Intimacy as I did the last named Nobleman. It must be owned that *Wilkes* possessed a Classic Pen, keen, rapid, cutting; and capable, as we have seen in the “North Briton,” no less than in other political Productions, of powerfully animating, or inflaming the public Mind. His Injuries were great; his Feelings, acute; his Spirit, undaunted; and his Compositions, full of Talent. But it was not “*Junius*.” *Wilkes*’s two memorable Letters, the one addressed to Lord Temple, in October, 1762, from Bagshot, immediately after his Duel with Lord Talbot; and the other, written from his House, in Great George Street, on the 19th December, 1763, to Dr. Brocklesby, subsequent to his Duel with Martin; may vie in Wit, Pleasantry, and Powers of Ridicule, with any Compositions in the English Language. His Letter, dated from “Paris, 22d October, 1764,” appealing to the Electors of Aylesbury, against

the Treatment which he met with from both Houses of Parliament, and from Lord Mansfield, challenges equal Admiration. Lastly, his Address to the Duke of Grafton, written likewise from "Paris, on the 12th of December, 1766," containing the animated Relation of his Arrest, followed by his Interview with the Earls of Egremont and Halifax, which took Place at the Residence of the former Nobleman in Piccadilly, now Cholmondeley House; can hardly be exceeded in Energy, Severity, and Powers of Reasoning. They charm, perhaps as much as the Writings of "Junius;" but, the Difference between the two Productions cannot be mistaken by any Man who allows his Reason fair Play. Wilkes himself, who instead of shrinking from the Avowal, on the contrary would have gladly assumed the Fame attending on it, at whatever personal Risk, always disclaimed any Title to such a Distinction. "*Utinam scripsissem!*" Would to Heaven I could have written them! was his Reply, when charged with being the Author.

Hugh Macauley Boyd, a Gentleman who accompanied or followed Lord Macartney

to Madras, in 1781, where he died a few Years afterwards; has been named, and his Pretensions have been strongly maintained in Print, as well as in private Society. It has been attempted, both in his Case, and in that of Wilkes, to prove from Facts of various kinds, and Anecdotes, either true or imaginary, their respective Right to the Works of "Junius." But, I never could discover in the avowed Writings of Boyd, any Similarity, and still less any Equality, with the Letters of the unknown and immortal Person in Question. Nor would it seem, as far as we are able to judge, that Boyd had, or could have, Access to the Information profusely exhibited through almost every Page of "Junius," and which very few Individuals were competent to attain. Boyd did not live in the Circle where alone such Materials were to be found, or to be collected.

I have heard the Reverend *Philip Rosenhagen* pointed out as "Junius." But the Opinion never, I believe, had many Supporters, nor did I ever regard it as entitled to serious Refutation. I knew him as an Acquaintance, between 1782 and 1785. He

appeared to me to be a plausible, well informed Man, imposing in his Manner, of a classic Mind, and agreeable Conversation; living much in the World, received on the most intimate footing at Shelburne House, and possessing very considerable Talents. There is, however, a wide Interval between such Abilities, however eminent, and those displayed by the Writer under Examination.

A more probable, or at least, a better concerted Story, confidently circulated at the Time, and which has been lately revived, was, that Mr. *William Greatrakes*, a Native of Ireland, who lived with the Earl of Shelburne, and acted as his private Secretary, composed the Letters. The Materials were said to have been furnished by Lord Shelburne, and worked up by his Secretary. It was added, that he died in August, 1781, at Hungerford in Berkshire, not very far from that Nobleman's Seat, of Bow Wood; and lies buried in Hungerford Church-yard, with a plain Stone over his Remains, together with a short Inscription, terminated by the three Latin Words,

“ Stat Nominis Umbra;”

the Motto, usually, or always prefixed to Junius's Letters. I have never considered this Narration, however plausible it appears, as worthy of Credit, or as meriting Attention.

It has been recently attempted to prove that *Glover*, the distinguished Author of "Leonidas," was "Junius;" and the Confirmation of the Assertion has been sought, in the "Memoirs of a celebrated Literary and Political Character," lately published. But though every Line of those "Memoirs," bespeaks the Writer to have possessed equal Ability and Integrity; living in a high Circle, himself a Member of the House of Commons during many Years;—though the same ardent Spirit of Freedom which animates *Glover* as a Poet, is diffused over this Production; and though various Passages in it, may seem to bear a Degree of Resemblance or Analogy to the animated Apostrophés of "Junius;"—yet, no Person who has perused attentively the Work in Question, can for an Instant persuade himself of the Identity of the two Men. If however these Grounds of Belief, drawn from the internal Evidence contained in the respective Compositions,

should fail in producing a decided Opinion, I can adduce better Proof. Mr. Glover, Son of the Author of “ Leonidas,” and whom to name, is sufficient to stamp the Authenticity of all that he asserts ; assured me only a short time ago, in answer to my Enquiries on the Subject, that “ he had not the least Reason to suppose, or to believe, that his Father composed the Letters of “ Junius :” an Admission far outweighing any real or fancied Similarity between those Writers. Still more recent Attempts have been made in Favor of a Foreigner, *De Lolme* ; but, however speciously supported on some Points, they rest on no solid Foundation.

During many Years of my Life, notwithstanding the Severity with which *Wedderburn* is treated by “ Junius,” I nourished a strong Belief, approaching to Conviction, that the late Earl of Rosslyn, then *Mr. Wedderburn*, was himself the Author of those Letters. His Abilities were eminent, his Opportunities of Information, great ; and his political Connexions between January, 1769, and January, 1772, the two extreme Periods of the Appearance of the Compositions in

Question, favour the Conjecture. Though Churchill calls Wedderburn,

“ A pert, prim Prater of the Northern Race,”

his Talents of every Kind entitled him to high Admiration ; and he particularly possessed the Legal, Jurisprudential, as well as Parliamentary Knowledge, lavishly exhibited in various Parts of “ Junius.” I have heard Men assert, who were entitled to Respect and Credit, that they had seen several of the Originals, in the Possession of Woodfall ; and that they recognized the Hand-writing to be that of Mrs. Wedderburn, his first Wife, with which manual Character they were perfectly acquainted. If this Fact indeed were to be admitted, it might seem decisive : but, such Assertions, however apparently well sustained, are frequently made on erroneous or mistaken Foundations. Perhaps I ought to add, that the Persons in Question, were Natives of Scotland ; and national Vanity or Partiality might mislead their Judgment on such a Point.

All Circumstances fully weighed, my own Conviction is, that the Letters of “ Junius” were written by the Right Honorable *Wil-*

liam Gerard Hamilton; commonly designated by the Nick Name of “Single Speech Hamilton,” from the Report, generally, though falsely circulated, that he never opened his Mouth more than once in the English Parliament. He was during many Years, Chancellor of the Exchequer in Ireland, and likewise a Member of the British House of Commons, while I sat in it: but I had not the Honor of his Acquaintance; and my Opinion is founded on the general prevailing Sentiment of those Persons, who, from their Situation, Rank, and means of Information, are entitled to almost implicit Belief. Throughout the various Companies, in which, from 1775, down to the present Time, I have heard this mysterious Question agitated, the great Majority concurred in giving to *Hamilton*, the Merit of composing the Letters under Examination. Various Noblemen or Gentlemen, who lived on Terms of intimate Friendship, and of almost daily Intercourse with him, during the Period of their Appearance or Publication; in particular, Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford, and the late Earl of Clermont; have protested in my Hearing, that they traced or recollected in Junius’s Letters, the “*ipsissima*

Verba," the precise Words and Expressions of Hamilton, which had recently fallen from his Lips in Conversation. His Pen is universally admitted to have been most elegant, classical, correct and nervous. This Opinion, nevertheless, by no means amounts to Demonstration, or approaches to Certainty; and it is possible, that as the Secret has not been divulged from Authority, during the Lapse of so many Years, Posterity may never attain to any absolute Proof upon the Subject, and must rest satisfied with Conjecture.

If "Junius" could be supposed still alive, obvious Motives for his concealing himself, drawn from the strongest Principles of human Action, will suggest themselves to every Man's Mind. On the other Hand, if he be no more, what Reasons sufficiently powerful can be produced, to account for the voluntary Renunciation of that posthumous Fame, which after his Decease might have been reclaimed, without Apprehension of any injurious Consequences to himself? This Argument or Consideration, long induced me to suppose that "Junius" must be living; and that his Death, whenever it

took Place, would infallibly remove the Veil which conceals his Name. On more mature Reflection, nevertheless, very strong Causes for continuing to preserve his Incognito beyond the Grave, may present themselves. If he left behind him lineal Representatives, he might dread exposing them to the hereditary Animosity of some of those, whom he designates as “the worst, and “the most powerful Men in this Country.” Even should he have left no Descendants, it is possible that he might dislike the Comparison between his Actions and his Writings, which must have been involuntarily made by Mankind. If, for instance, it would have been proved that he accepted an Office, a Pension, or a Peerage, from the Sovereign and the Minister whom he had recently accused as Enemies to their Country, or as having betrayed its Interests ;—would not the moral Aversion or Contempt, excited towards his Memory by such a Disclosure, have overbalanced the Meed of literary Fame obtained from the Labors of his Pen? Should we admit the Validity of this Reasoning, we shall be led to infer, that “Junius” may remain as unknown to Posterity, a Century hence, as he continues to be now in 1815.

There is still another Circumstance applicable to the present Times, which did not exist when *Burnet*, or *Bulstrode*, or *Reresby*, wrote their “Memoirs;” and which Fact must be supposed to have had its due Operation on “Junius.” Between 1660 and 1714, a Period of little more than Fifty Years, three Families in Succession reigned over this Country: whereas from 1760; down to 1814, only one Prince has occupied the Throne, who still lives, though we lament that he no longer reigns. Under William the Third, who had expelled his Father-in-law, and who could not feel any Esteem for Charles the Second; “Junius,” had he then flourished, and had levelled his Shafts against those Kings, might have unmasked, and boldly avowed his Writings. When the two Houses of Nassau, or of Stuart, no longer swayed the Sceptre, and when George the First was called to the Crown; the severest Attacks made on the preceding Sovereigns or Ministers, could have excited only a feeble Degree of Resentment, if they did not even give Rise to opposite Emotions. But, the Case is widely different with respect to “Junius,” and might justly challenge from him another Line of Conduct. Not only the same Fa-

mily, but the same Individual, remains, at least nominally, King. And that Individual, whatever Errors of Judgment he may have committed, or however unpopular he was, almost from the Period of his Accession down to 1783, has been since that Time embalmed in the Affections of his People. I must leave the Degree of Solidity contained in these Observations, to the Decision of every Man's Judgment, as elucidatory or explanatory of the Question respecting "Junius."*

In addition to so many *domestic* Causes which weakened the Veneration felt towards the King, two *foreign* Events had likewise occurred, productive of national Dissatisfaction. The first arose from the Line of Policy, or rather of Conduct, adopted by Great Britain relative to Corsica. That Island,

* Since I wrote the preceding Observations, a Perusal of the Work lately published, denominated "The Identity of Junius with a distinguished living Character established," leaves little or no Doubt on my Mind, that those celebrated Productions are to be attributed to Sir Philip Francis.

which in later Times has attained a degree of odious Celebrity, by giving Birth to a Man, whose vast military Talents, and insatiable Ambition, aided by the Progress of the French Revolution, enabled him to overturn and to trample under his Feet, during many Years, the ancient System of Europe; was, after a long Series of Insurrections against the Genoese Government, ultimately transferred by Genoa to France. Choiseul, a Minister of an elevated Mind, and of ambitious Designs; anxious to raise the French Name, as well as the Reputation of Louis the Fifteenth, from the State of Humiliation into which both were fallen by the ill Success of the preceding War; undertook, and at length effected, the Reduction of Corsica. It may however be justly questioned, whether the Conquest has really augmented the Strength or Resources of France. But, the Generosity characteristic of the English Nation, the Sympathy felt towards a Race of brave, oppressed, and unfortunate Islanders, contending for Freedom; when added to the jealous Susceptibility natural to a State, always apprehensive of the Aggrandizement of its Rival;—these Feelings or political Opinions, produced a powerful Effect on

the public Mind. They were sustained by Publications, calculated to rouse the Country from its Apathy or Indifference to the Fate of Corsica. Pascal Paoli, Chief of the Insurgents, was depicted in them, as another Gustavus Vasa, or William Tell, struggling against Tyranny and Oppression: while the English Ministry, it was said, pusillanimously looked on, regardless of the Event, and inattentive to so important an Accession of Power acquired by our natural Enemy.

Scarcely had the Impression made by the *French* Conquest of Corsica, ceased to operate, and sunk into a Degree of Oblivion, when another Occurrence awakened and exasperated the Nation, against the *Spanish* Branch of the House of Bourbon. The immediate Cause of this Dispute arose from the Possession taken of the Falkland Islands by England; but, the Court of Madrid had always evaded or refused Payment of the Sum due for the Ransom of Manilla. Never, perhaps, was any Object in itself, abstractedly considered, less valuable, nor less worthy of public Attention, than the Falkland Islands: yet, the Manner in which Spain acted on the Occasion, displayed so much

Arrogance, as to compromise the Honor of the British Crown, and to demand a Reparation no less public than the Affront. The Islands in Question, situated in a most inclement Latitude, in the other Hemisphere, not far removed from Cape Horn; abandoned by Nature to Seals and to wild Fowl; scarcely covered with a scanty Vegetation; could hardly merit from their intrinsic Consequence, commercial or political, that any Blood should be spilt in order to acquire, or to retain, their Possession. But, the jealous Policy with which the old Spanish Government always beheld even the slightest Approach of any foreign Power towards that vast Continent of South America, over which, though they could neither colonize, nor subject it, they nevertheless claimed a Dominion; impelled the Court of Madrid to commence its Operations, in a Manner no less hostile, than insulting to us. An English Frigate was detained in the Harbour of Port Egmont, by Force. It must be owned, that the Vigor, or rather Audacity of such a Proceeding, could scarcely have been exceeded by Cardinal Alberoni himself, when he presided in the Spanish Counsels, under Philip the Fifth. The Act was indeed only com-

mitted ostensibly by an Individual, Buccarelli, who commanded the Forces of Charles the Third in that Quarter of the Globe: but the Government avowed, justified, and supported him.

Lord North, on whom had recently devolved the first Place in Administration; while he appeared deeply to feel the Indignity offered to his Sovereign, manifested likewise a Disposition to resent it in the most effectual Manner. Neither the State of the English Navy, nor the Preparations made in our Ports for the immediate Equipment of a powerful Fleet, were said however to be such as the Exigency obviously demanded, and the public Honor unquestionably required. A mitigated Compromise, by which Spain, though she consented to cede the *Possession* of Falkland Islands to Great Britain, yet refused to admit or recognize our *Right* to them; was, after long Discussions, accepted by Ministers. It prevented a War, but it gave no general Satisfaction; more especially, as any Mention of the Manilla Ransom was studiously omitted in the Convention. Assuredly, the Moment seemed favorable to have imposed almost any Conditions on the

Spanish Crown. Louis the Fifteenth, sinking in Years, and still more sunk in the general Estimation of his Subjects; disgusted at the ill Success of the former War, and determined not to engage again in Hostilities against England; having dismissed the Duke de Choiseul from Office, and lost to every Sense of public Duty, or national Glory; would, it was well known, have disregarded "the Family Compact," and would have abandoned the other Branch of the House of Bourbon in the Contest.

But, Lord North, who preferred pacific Measures; besides the ordinary Modes of Negotiation, had recourse to Expedients not usually adopted, in order to avert a Rupture. The late Sir William Gordon, whom I well knew, and who at that Time filled the Post of British Envoy at the Court of Brussels, was selected by Ministers, to undertake the Commission of preventing a War. For this Purpose, he received private Instructions to repair in the most secret, but, expeditious Manner, to Paris; and there to use every possible Exertion for prevailing on Louis the Fifteenth, and the new First Minister, the Duke d'Aguillon, to compel the Spanish

Court to accommodate the Points in Dispute. Gordon, who found in the French Sovereign and his Cabinet, the warmest Disposition to preserve Peace, succeeded completely in the Object of his Mission. He told me, that as a Recompense for his Service, he received from Lord North, a Pension of Three Hundred Pounds a Year; and from His Majesty, the further Sum of One Thousand Pounds, as a Present: but, the Convention by which Peace was made, excited universal Disapprobation; and afforded to the Pen of "Junius," an Occasion which he did not lose, of pointing the public Censure with inconceivable Severity against the King himself personally, no less than against the Administration.

Even after the Interval of four Years, which elapsed between the Termination of this Dispute, and the Commencement of the American Rebellion; though the Nation enjoyed profound Peace, together with all the Advantages of a flourishing Commerce, augmenting Opulence, and progressive Prosperity, yet the Sovereign was by no means popular. New Sources of Discontent, and imaginary or doubtful Subjects of Complaint,

were ingeniously discovered. Lord Bute had, indeed, disappeared from the Theatre of public Life; and the Princess Dowager of Wales, whose supposed Influence over her Son, rendered her always an Object of Attack, was no more. She expired in 1772, of a most painful Disease, which she supported with uncommon Firmness. But, other Names and Figures succeeded to their pretended Influence behind the Curtain of State. *Bradshaw*, surnamed “the Cream-coloured Parasite,” and *Dyson*, gave place to the superior Ascendancy of *Jenkinson*, who was accused of directing, unseen, the Resolutions of the Cabinet, and of possessing the interior Secret, as well as Confidence, of the Crown. A Prince, distinguished by almost every domestic Virtue, animated by the noblest Intentions, and by the warmest Affection for his People; was represented as despotic, inflexible, vindictive, and disposed to govern by unconstitutional Means or Engines. His very Pleasures, his Tastes, and his private Recreations, were traduced or satirized, as bearing the same Stamp and Impression. Poetry lent her Aid to expose these personal Weaknesses, if such they were, to public Animadversion or Ridicule.

The “ Heroic Epistle to Sir William Chambers,” (commonly, tho’ perhaps erroneously attributed to one of the finest poetic Writers of the Period, *Mason*;) rivalled “ Junius” in Delicacy of Invective, in its insulting Irony, and in the Severity of its Imputations. Such appeared to be the State of public Opinion, and such the Prejudices generally entertained against the King, throughout the Nation, at the Period when, in the Summer of 1775, Hostilities began on the American Continent.

That George the Third, from a very early Period of his Reign, had imbibed a deeply rooted Opinion of the parliamentary Right inherent in the Mother Country, to tax her American Colonies, and of the Practicability, or rather the Facility, of the Attempt, if made; no well-informed Man can entertain a Doubt. I have been assured by a Nobleman now alive, that as early as 1764, His Majesty, conversing with Mr. George Grenville, then First Minister, on the Subject of the Finances, which, after the Close of the triumphant “ Seven Years War,” demanded Economy, no less than Ability, to re-establish; mentioned to him as one great pecu-

niary Resource, the Measure of taxing America. Mr. Grenville replied, that he had frequently revolved, and thoroughly considered the Proposition, which he believed to be not only difficult, but, impracticable; and pregnant, if undertaken, with the most alarming Consequences to the Sovereign himself. These Apprehensions, far however from intimidating or discouraging the King, made no Impression on his Mind; and in a subsequent Conversation with the same Minister, His Majesty gave him plainly to understand, that if he wanted either Nerves or Inclination to make the Attempt, others could be found who were ready to undertake it. The Words produced their full Effect upon the Person to whom they were addressed; and Mr. Grenville preferred endeavouring to realize the Experiment, however hazardous he might esteem it, rather than allow it to be committed to other Hands. It failed at that Time, but was revived ten Years later, with more serious national Results, under Lord North's Administration.

I have always considered the *Principle* upon which that War commenced, and pe-

culiarly as affecting the King, to have been not only defensible, but, meritorious. It was not a War of Prerogative, but, a Contest undertaken for maintaining the Right of Parliament to impose Taxes on British America. If George the Third would have separated the Interests of his Crown, from those of the Legislature, he might have made advantageous Terms with his trans-Atlantic Subjects: but he disdained any Compromise by which he must have dissevered himself from his Parliament. Nor have I ever esteemed the political and military Conductors of the American Revolution, as other than successful Rebels of unquestionable Courage, Constancy, and Ability; whatever Eulogiums were conferred on them in the House of Commons, by Fox and Burke. I well know that the Names of Franklin and of Washington, have been consecrated by a very numerous part of the Inhabitants of Great Britain. The former, if considered as a natural Philosopher, a Philanthropist, and a man of Genius, doubtless may lay claim to universal Esteem. Nor are the abstract Pretensions of Washington less conspicuous, when contemplated as a General, and a Citizen of America. In both Capacities he

may rank with Cincinnatus, or with the younger Cato. But, in the Estimation of all who regard the parliamentary Supremacy of the Mother Country over Colonies, which had been not merely planted, but likewise preserved, by the Expenditure of British Blood and Treasure, as constituting an immutable Principle; a Sovereign who would not have maintained that Supremacy, must have been unworthy of the Sceptre.

The whole Life of William the Third, from his Attainment of Manhood, down to the last Moments of his Existence, was passed in a continual Struggle to preserve the Liberties of his own Country, or those of England, against arbitrary Power. His Name will ever be connected with Constitutional Freedom, and as such, is cherished in our Remembrance. But, does any Person suppose, that if William had reigned over the British Isles, at the Period of the American Rebellion; whatever Love of Civil Liberty might animate him as a Man, he would on that Account have relinquished the Rights of his Parliament, and his Crown? Or that He would have tamely acquiesced in the Refusal of his American Subjects, to contribute by

indirect Taxation, to the general Wants of the Empire? Those who venture to form such a Conclusion, must, as it seems to me, have very imperfectly studied the Character, or appreciated the Actions, of that illustrious Prince.

The *Wisdom* and *Policy* of the American War, may perhaps appear more doubtful. The Attempt in the first instance to tax, and afterwards to reduce by Force, a vast Continent, separated from Great Britain by an immense Ocean, inhabited by a People who were individually indebted many Millions to the Mother Country, ardent for Emancipation, and sufficiently unanimous in their Resistance to the Parent State, to be able to call out into Action nearly all the Persons capable of bearing Arms;—such an Experiment, even if speculatively considered, would doubtless have impressed any wise Statesman, as hazardous in itself, and of very uncertain Issue. In the Case before us, all these Impediments acquired additional Strength, from other concurring Circumstances. A large Proportion of Society here at Home, regarded the American Rebellion with favorable Eyes, and secretly wished

Success to the Cause ; because they dreaded lest the British Constitution itself would not long survive the Encrease of Power and Influence, that the Crown must necessarily derive from the Subjugation of the Colonies beyond the Atlantic. In both Houses of Parliament, a numerous, active, and encreasing Party, openly maintained and justified the Insurrection, rejoiced in their Triumphs, and reprobated in Theory, no less than in Practice, the Attempt to subjugate the revolted States. Even those who did not approve such political Principles, yet saw in the War, if it should prove unsuccessful, a means of overturning the Administration.

The Inability of Great Britain to levy and to send from her own Population, a military Force sufficiently numerous for reducing to Obedience so many Provinces, extending from the Frontiers of Canada, to the Borders of Florida ; compelled the Government to obtain additional Troops, by Application to various of the German Powers. From the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel in particular, who had married a Daughter of George the Second, many Thousands were

procured. These Stipendiaries, though perhaps not more justly Objects of moral or political Condemnation, than were the Swiss and Grison Regiments permanently retained in the Service of France, or the Scotch Corps then serving in the Pay of Holland; yet encreased the popular Cry, and furnished to the Opposition, Subjects of Obloquy, or of Declamation. That France must, sooner or later, interfere in Favor of the Americans, became likewise obvious; because the French Ministry, listening only to the narrow Suggestions of national Rivality, did not, or would not perceive, that it could never be the wise Policy of a despotic Government, to aid the cause of Revolt, by sending Forces out of the Country, to imbibe Principles of Freedom and Resistance among Rebels. It is an unquestionable Fact, that the late unfortunate Louis the Sixteenth possessed Enlargement of Mind, and sound Discernment sufficient to feel this Truth. He even objected strongly to the Policy of detaching French Troops to the Assistance of Washington; and he was only overruled in his Opposition to the Measure, by his Deference for the Counsels of Maurepas and Vergennes. France has since dearly

paid, under Robespierre and Bonaparte, for her Deviation from the Dictates of Wisdom, as well as of Magnanimity, in thus supporting Insurrection.

It is however in the *Conduct* of that unfortunate Contest, that we must principally seek for the Cause of its ill Success. Near three Years elapsed from the Time of its Commencement, before the Court of Versailles ventured openly to interpose as an Enemy. But, the *Howes* appear to have been either lukewarm, or remiss, or negligent, or incapable. Lord North's Selection of those two Commanders, for the Purpose of subjecting America, excited, at the Time, just Condemnation; however brave, able, or meritorious, they might individually be esteemed, as professional Men. Their Ardor in the Cause itself was doubted; and still more questionable was their Attachment to the Administration. Never, perhaps, in the History of modern War, has an Army, or a Fleet, been more profusely supplied with every Requisite for brilliant and efficient Service, than were the Troops and Ships sent out by Lord North's Cabinet in 1776, across the Atlantic. But, the Efforts abroad, did not correspond

with the Exertions made at home. The Energy and Activity of a *Wellington*, never animated that torpid Mass. Neither Vigilance, Enterprize, nor Co-operation, characterized the Campaigns of 1776, and 1777. Dissipation, Play, and Relaxation of Discipline, found their way into the British Camp. New York became another *Capua*, though the Genius and Resources of *Hannibal*, were not displayed by Sir William Howe. The Defeat at Trenton, which was critically unfortunate, rescued the Congress from the lowest State of Depression. After Burgoyne's Surrender at Saratoga, little rational Probability of Success remained; and when Clinton succeeded to the Command of the Army at New York, by the Recall of Sir William Howe, the French were on the point of declaring in Favor of the Americans. The Loyalty and Courage of Sir Henry Clinton were besides more distinguished, than were his military Talents. Even the British Troops, engaged in a species of Civil War, did not manifest the same Eagerness or Alacrity, as when opposed to a foreign Enemy, though they displayed in every Engagement, their accustomed Steadiness and Valor. The Service itself, from the Nature of the Coun-

try, became severe, painful, and discouraging. Lakes, Swamps, Morasses, and almost impenetrable Forests, presented at every Step, Obstacles not easily overcome by the bravest Soldiers. And though the Scene of Hostilities was successively shifted, from Boston to New York; thence to the Banks of the Chesapeake and the Delaware; finally, to the Southern and Central Provinces of Carolina and Virginia; yet the Results, however promising they might be at the Commencement, proved always ultimately abortive. We have recently witnessed similar Consequences flowing from nearly the same Causes, during the Progress of our second Contest with America.

At Home, a gradual and encreasing Discontent overspread the Kingdom, pervaded all Classes, and seemed to menace the Administration with the Effects of popular, or national Resentment. The Navy, divided into Parties, no longer blocked the Enemy's Ports, or carried Victory wherever it appeared, as it had done in the Commencement of His Majesty's Reign. Our distant Possessions, unprotected by superior Fleets, fell into the Hands of France or Spain. Even

our Commerce was intercepted, captured, and greatly diminished. Each Year seemed to produce new foreign Adversaries, and to augment the public Embarrassments or Distress. Ministers who were neither vigorous, nor fortunate, nor popular, holding even their Offices by a precarious Tenure, inspired no Confidence in their Measures. The Opposition, though diminished by the Exertions which Government had made to secure a Majority in the Lower House, on the Convocation of a new Parliament; was numerous, confident, able, and indefatigable. They saw, or believed they saw, the Object of their Grasp, at no great Distance. Futurity presented to all Men, a most discouraging Prospect; and Peace appeared to be not only distant, but unattainable, except by such Sacrifices of national Revenue, Territory, and Honor, as could not be contemplated without a Degree of Dismay. America might be considered as lost to Great Britain; while our Possessions in the East Indies seemed to be menaced with total Subversion. Those who remember the Period to which I allude, will not think the Colors of this Description, either heightened, or overcharged. At no Moment of the Revolu-

tionary War which we almost unintermittingly sustained against the French, from 1793 to 1814; neither in 1797, during the Mutiny in the Navy; nor in 1799, after the unsuccessful Expedition to the Helder; nor in 1805, subsequent to the Battle of Austerlitz; nor in 1806, when the Prussian Monarchy fell at Aüerstadt; nor in 1807, at the Peace of Tilsit; nor when Sir John Moore was compelled, early in 1809, to re-embark at Corunna, and the whole Pyrenean Peninsula seemed to lie prostrate at the Feet of its Corsican Master;—though each of these *Æras* unquestionably presents Images of great national Depression, did a deeper Despondency prevail among all Ranks of Society, than existed towards the Close of the American Contest, as the Administration of Lord North drew to its Termination.

In the midst of so universal a Dejection, the King remained altogether unmoved. Neither Defeats, nor Difficulties, nor the Number of his foreign Enemies, nor domestic Opposition, unlinged his Mind, or shook his Resolution. Convinced that he could not abandon the Struggle in which he was engaged, however arduous or doubtful might

be the Result, without renouncing his own Birth-right, the Interests of his Crown, the Supremacy of Parliament, and the best Portion of the British Empire; he never vacillated, nor shewed for a single Moment, any Disposition to dismiss his Ministers. Whatever Irresolution, Difference of Opinion, or Apprehension, might pervade the Cabinet itself, at certain Moments, none of these Sentiments agitated the Sovereign. He only desired to abide the Issue, and to maintain the Contest. It is perhaps for Posterity to decide on the Degree of Approbation or of Blame, political and moral, which such a Character and Conduct, under such Circumstances, may justly challenge: but, even if we should incline to censure, or to condemn, we cannot help in some Measure respecting and admiring it. As however, his Majesty's Opinions and Wishes were universally known or understood throughout the Country, a proportionate Degree of Unpopularity fell personally on him; and he was regarded as the vital Principle which animated, sustained, and propelled, the Administration. When we consider this Fact, in Addition to all the preceding Statements given of his Measures since he acceded to the Throne; we shall no

longer wonder, that in Defiance of so many Claims to the affectionate Veneration of his People, he was nevertheless, at this Period of his Reign, by no Means an Object of general Partiality or Attachment.

Lord North, who had already occupied the Posts of first Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, during eleven Years, was then in the full Vigor of his Faculties, having nearly accomplished the Forty-ninth Year of his Age. His Head and Face exceedingly reminded the Beholder, of the Portraits of Pope Leo the Tenth. In his Person he was of the middle size, heavy, large, and much inclined to Corpulency. There appeared in the Cast and Formation of his Countenance, nay even in his Manner, so strong a Resemblance to the Royal Family of England, that it was difficult not to perceive it. Like them, he had a fair Complexion, regular Features, light Hair, with bushy Eyebrows, and grey Eyes, rather prominent in his Head. His Face might be indeed esteemed a Caricature of the King; and those who remembered the Intimacy which subsisted between Frederic, the late Prince of Wales, and the Earl, as well as Countess of

Guildford, Lord North's Father and Mother; a Circumstance to which Allusion has already been made; found no Difficulty in accounting, though perhaps very unjustly, for that Similarity. He possessed an Advantage, considered in his ministerial Capacity, which neither of his two immediate Predecessors, the Marquis of Rockingham, or the Duke of Grafton, could boast; and, in which, his three immediate Successors in Office, Lord Rockingham, Lord Shelburne, and the Duke of Portland, were equally deficient. I mean, that being, not a Member of the House of Peers, but a Commoner, he had attained in the Course of Years, that intimate Knowledge of the lower House, its Formation, Composition, and the Modes of conducting or influencing it as a Body, which nothing can confer, except long Habits of Debate, and the Necessity of daily personal Attendance. His natural Affability rendered him besides so accessible, and the Communicativeness of his Temper inclined him so much to Conversation, that every Member of the House found a Facility in becoming known to him. Never indeed was a first Minister less intrenched within the Forms of his official Situation. He seemed on the contrary,

always happy to throw aside his public Character, and to relapse into an Individual.

His Tongue being rather too large for his Mouth, rendered his Articulation somewhat thick, though not at all indistinct. It is to this Peculiarity or Defect in his Enunciation, that “Junius” alludes in one of his Letters, written in January, 1770, when he says, after mentioning the Duke of Grafton’s Resignation, “The Palm of Ministerial Firmness is now transferred to Lord North. He tells us so, himself, with the Plenitude of the *Ore rotundo*.” He did not however bedew his Hearers while addressing his Discourse to them, as Burnet tells us, the Duke of Lauderdale, so well known under Charles the Second’s Reign, always did, in consequence of the faulty Conformation of his Tongue. In Parliament, the Deficiency of Lord North’s Sight, was productive to him of many Inconveniences. For, even at the Distance of a few Feet, he saw very imperfectly; and across the House, he was unable to distinguish Persons with any Degree of Certainty or Accuracy. In speaking, walking, and every Motion, it is not enough to say that he wanted Grace: he was to the last

degree awkward. It can hardly obtain Belief, that in a full House of Commons, he took off on the Point of his Sword, the Wig of Mr. Welbore Ellis, and carried it a considerable Way across the Floor, without ever suspecting, or perceiving it. The Fact happened in this Manner. Mr. Ellis, who was then Treasurer of the Navy, and well advanced towards his Seventieth Year, always sat at the lowest Corner of the Treasury Bench, a few Feet removed from Lord North. The latter having Occasion to go down the House, previously laid his Hand on his Sword, holding the Chafe of the Scabbard forward, nearly in a horizontal Direction. Mr. Ellis stooping at the same Instant that the First Minister rose, the Point of the Scabbard came exactly in contact with the Treasurer of the Navy's Wig, which it completely took off, and bore away. The Accident, however ludicrous, was wholly unseen by Lord North, who received the first Intimation of it, from the involuntary Bursts of Laughter that it occasioned in every Quarter of the House. Mr. Ellis, however, without altering a Muscle of his Countenance, and preserving the most perfect Gravity in the midst of the general Convul-

sion; having received back his Wig, re-adjusted it to his Head, and waited patiently till the House had recovered from the Effect of so extraordinary, as well as ridiculous an Occurrence.

In addition to his Defect of Sight, Lord North was subject likewise to a constitutional Somnolency, which neither the animated Declamations of Fox, nor the pathetic Invocations of Burke, nor the hoarse Menaces of Barré, could always prevent. It attacked him even on the Treasury Bench, sometimes with irresistible Force. Nor was he altogether exempt from its Influence when in private Society. Having called on a Lady of Condition, one Evening, the Charms of whose Person and Conversation were universally acknowledged at the Time of which I am writing, but, whom I forbear to name, he found her engaged in a violent Altercation with her Sister-in-law. Lord North, with his characteristic good Humor, attempted to interpose his Mediation, and to accommodate the Quarrel: but, he found this Negotiation more difficult than that of the Falkland Islands, and they were not to be pacified without recurring to legal Assist-

ance. He consented therefore to wait, till the Lady of the House should return from her Solicitor's Chambers in Lincoln's Inn, which she promised to do without Delay. Seating himself in an Arm-chair before the Fire, he soon fell into a profound Sleep, from which he was not awakened by the Entrance of one of the Maid Servants; who seeing a corpulent Man, with a blue Ribband across his Breast, asleep in her Mistress's Drawing Room, and being unacquainted with the first Minister's Person, ran down into the Kitchen, to give the Alarm. Yet in Defiance of all these physical Infirmities, whenever he rose to reply in the House of Commons, he displayed no want of Recollection, Presence of Mind, or Accuracy. He seldom, or never, took Notes; trusting to his Memory for retaining the principal Facts which occurred during the preceding Discussion. Sir Grey Cooper, however, who commonly sat on his left Hand, supplied on particular Occasions, that Deficiency.

Lord North was powerful, able, and fluent in Debate; sometimes repelling the Charges made against him, with solid Argument; but, still more frequently eluding or blunting the

Weapons of his Antagonists, by the Force of Wit and Humour. Fox, conscious of the first Minister's Superiority in exciting a Laugh, and irritated at being often the Object of his Talent for Ridicule, more than once endeavoured to silence Him by Severity of Animadversion. I remember, soon after I came into Parliament, towards the Close of 1780, during the Debate which arose upon Sir Hugh Palliser's Nomination to the Government of Greenwich Hospital; Lord North having exhibited his Talents in that Line of Defence, Fox exclaimed, "There may be Ingenuity, and there doubtless is Wit in the noble Lord's Reply, but there is no Judgment. A Joke constitutes a poor Consolation for so many gallant Admirals as have been forced out of the Service. The prime Minister is satisfied if he can only raise a Laugh. He hopes that if the Opposers of his Measures cannot approve his Reasoning, they may still be compelled to say, '*O quam belle concionaris!*'" Mr. Thomas Townsend, alluding about the same Time, in the House of Commons, to Lord North's unequalled Powers of that Nature; expressed his Astonishment at the Facility with which, while

the Empire was convulsed in every Quarter, the first Lord of the Treasury could summon to his Aid, all the Weapons of Wit and Levity. “Happen what will,” said he, “the noble Lord is ready with his Joke. Amidst the Calamities of the War, and the Ruin of the Country, while the State of public Affairs renders every other Person serious, he is prepared to treat Events the most distressing, as Subjects of Merriment, of Gaiety, and of Repartee! Such is his luxuriant Fancy, and sportive Elasticity of Character.” These Observations, however acrimonious, were not destitute of Truth; but it was impossible to resist the Effect of Lord North’s Talents for Ridicule. They never forsook him; not even on the Night of the seventh of June, 1780, when London was blazing round him; nor on the 18th of March, 1782, only forty-eight Hours before he resigned, when he jested in the House of Commons, on the Tax which he meant to impose upon Hair-dressers:—such was the Formation of his Mind. Sir Thomas More, Chancellor under Henry the Eighth, one of the greatest, wisest, and most virtuous Ministers that England ever saw, displayed the same Facetiousness throughout every Stage

of his Life, and exhibited it even on the Scaffold, during his last Moments.

Lord North rarely rose to Sublimity, though he possessed vast Facility and Command of Language. If necessary, he could speak for a long Time, apparently with great Pathos, and yet disclose no important Fact, nor reveal any Secret. I have heard Fox himself, while inveighing in the strongest Manner against Lord North, yet bear a sort of reluctant Testimony to his Ability in this Respect. When the Subject of opening a Treaty with the American Colonies, was agitated in the House of Commons, towards the Conclusion of the Session of 1781; the first Minister having opposed on general Grounds, the Motion then brought forward by Opposition, Fox, in the Course of a long and very animated Speech, observed, “ The noble Lord prefers speaking indefinitely on the present Question. “ It is frequently inconvenient for him to “ answer directly to Matters of Fact, and he “ therefore amuses Parliament with general “ Ideas or Propositions. For, there exists “ not within these Walls, nor in the Kingdom, a more complete Master of Language, “ than the Chancellor of the Exchequer, nor

“one who can more plausibly discourse on
“any Subject.” The Sincerity, as well as
the Justice of this Recognition, could admit
of no Dispute. Then adverting to Lord
George Germain’s well known fair or un-
guarded Mode of Expression, Fox added,
“The noble Lord who sits near the first
“Lord of the Treasury, is less accustomed
“to entertain his Audience with general
“Speeches, and commonly comes directly
“to the Fact.” An unalterable Suavity and
Equality of Temper, which was natural to
Lord North, enabled him to sustain, un-
moved, the bitter Sarcasms and severe Ac-
cusations, levelled at him from the Opposi-
tion Benches. They always seemed to sink
into him, like a Cannon Ball into a Wool
Sack. Sometimes, the coarse Invectives of
Alderman Sawbridge, or the fiery Sallies of
George Byng, roused him from his seeming
Apathy; and effected the Object, which the
delicate Irony, or laboured Attacks of more
able Adversaries, had failed to produce.
Once, and only once, during the Time that I
sat in Parliament, I witnessed his rising to
a Pitch of the most generous Indignation.
Barré attracted this Storm on himself, by
the Reproaches which he made the first
Minister, for oppressing the People with

Taxes ; or as he coarsely termed it, “ scourging them to the last Drop of their Blood :” Reproaches, equally uncalled for by the Occasion, as they were delivered with insulting Asperity of Language.

The Incident happened after the Close of that memorable Debate, when General Conway, on the 22d of February, 1782, may be said to have terminated the American War ; Administration only carrying the Question by a single Vote. Lord North alluding to this recent Triumph of the Opposition, said in Reply to Barré, that “ he presumed the Diversion of that Evening, had inflamed the Colonel’s Valour to such intemperate Abuse,” which he qualified with the Epithets of “ insolent and brutal.” I scarcely ever recollect a Scene of greater Tumult and general Disorder, than took Place on his pronouncing the above Words. The First Minister had Time during the Uproar and Cries of *Order*, to recollect himself ; and as soon as Silence was in some Measure restored, he apologized to the House for his Indiscretion ; adding in a Manner the most good humoured, “ To be sure, Mr. Speaker, it was wrong in me, who have been so long accustomed to Parliamentary Abuse, to be irritated at

“ any Expressions. I can bear, I believe, as much as any Man ; and I am persuaded, the House will give me Credit, when I repeat that I support Abuse as patiently as any Individual.” Several of the Opposition Members, among whom were Colonel Barré’s Colleague, Dunning, and Mr. William Pitt ; insisting that a personal Excuse or Apology was due to Barré himself, as well as to the House, Lord North submitted to the expressed Pleasure of the Assembly. But, the Colonel, “ *cui Lumen ademptum*,” by no means manifested the same Suavity and Complacency in accepting, which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had exhibited in making, the required Apology. Getting up, he began a Speech of considerable Length, by observing that “ though he in general differed upon political Points with the noble Lord, and despised him as a Minister, yet as a private Gentleman, he esteemed Lord North.” He then proceeded to demonstrate that every Member possessed a Right to use with Impunity, the most severe Epithets towards a public Functionary, the Servant of the State, though that Right was not reciprocal. He would even have again recapitulated the Particulars of the whole Transaction, if *Cornwall* had not very pro-

perly interposed from the Chair, and imposed Silence on him. Thus terminated the Business. Pitt did not then foresee that a Day would arrive, when he should stand precisely in the Predicament of Lord North. No doubt, Pitt and Tierney, when they met on Putney Common in 1798, exchanged Shots for less Provocation: but, a Duel between Lord North and Barré, would have excited a sort of Ridicule; the former seeing very imperfectly with both Eyes, and the latter possessing only one defective Eye. Besides, the Emotions of Anger and Resentment appeared to be foreign to Lord North's Nature, and as if only put on occasionally in Order to serve a particular Purpose. He was indeed incapable of retaining Enmity, though he felt, and sometimes expressed Contempt for those Individuals, who abandoned him from mean and mercenary Motives. The best Proof of his Placability was exhibited by himself, several Years afterwards, accompanied with that Wit and Pleasantry which characterized him on every Occasion. Barré and he meeting on the Pantiles at Tunbridge Wells, where great Civilities took Place between them; "Colonel," said Lord North, "notwithstanding all that may have passed formerly in Parliament, when we were

on different Sides, I am persuaded that there are not two Men in the Kingdom, who would now be more happy to see each other." They were both at that Time totally deprived of Sight, and led about by their Attendants.

Baited, harassed, and worried as he always was in Parliament, during the latter Years of his Administration, he never manifested any Impatience for the Termination of the Session : on the contrary, Doubts were entertained among those Persons who knew him best, whether he did not derive a Gratification from keeping the House of Commons sitting. That Assembly presented in fact a Theatre on which he acted the first Personage, where he attracted almost all Attention, and where his Abilities rendered him hardly less conspicuous, than his Ministerial Situation. In opening *the Budget*, he was esteemed peculiarly lucid, clear, and able. On that Account it constituted a Day of Triumph to his Friends and Supporters, who exulted in the Talent which he displayed, whenever he exhibited the State of the national Finances, or imposed new pecuniary Burthens. I was twice present at his Performance of this arduous Task ; first, in 1781, and afterwards, in the following Year,

when he executed it for the last Time. Each Performance appeared to me, very deserving of the Encomiums lavished on it; and if compared with the incapable Manner in which *the Budget* was opened by his Successor, Lord John Cavendish, when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1783, I still continue of the same Opinion. But, Lord North could sustain no Competition with the late Mr. Pitt, who on those, as on all other Occasions, manifested a Perspicuity, Eloquence, Recollection, and Talent, altogether wonderful; which carried the Audience along with him in every Arithmetical Statement, left no Calculation obscure or ambiguous, and impressed the House at its Close, with tumultuous Admiration.

Lord North could descend without Effort, I might say, with Ease and Dignity, from the highest Offices of his public Situation in the House of Commons, to the lowest Duties of a private Member. In the Spring of the Year 1781, when “the Secret Committee for enquiring into the Causes of the War in the Carnatic,” was appointed by Ballot, I was named one of the Scrutineers, to examine the Names of the Persons chosen to compose it. The House

being about to break up, we were standing round the Table, when some Voices called out the Name of Lord North for a Scrutineer. Far from declining to engage in such an Occupation, which he might easily have done, on account of his Official Business and Employments, he instantly repaired with the Members nominated, to one of the Committee Rooms. We sat till a late Hour before the Scrutiny was finished, and dined together up Stairs. And if he made the worst Scrutineer, he was certainly the pleasantest and best Companion, during the whole Time. He possessed a classic Mind, full of Information, and always enlivened by Wit, as well as sweetened by good Humour. When young, he had travelled over a considerable Part of Europe, and he knew the Continent well: he spoke French with Facility, and was equally versed in the great Writings of Antiquity. It was impossible to experience Dullness in his Society. Even during the last Years of his Life, when nearly or totally blind, and labouring under many Infirmities; yet his Equanimity of Temper never forsook him, nor even his Gaiety, and Powers of Conversation. I have frequently seen him display the utmost

Chearfulness, under those Circumstances so trying to human Nature.

As a Statesman, his Enemies charged him with Irresolution: but he might rather be taxed with Indolence and Procrastination, than with want of Decision. He naturally loved to postpone, though when it became necessary to resolve, he could abide firmly by his Determination. Never had any Minister purer Hands, nor manifested less Rapacity. In fact, he amassed no Wealth, after an Administration of twelve Years. When he quitted Office, his Circumstances were by no means Opulent, and he had a numerous Family. I well remember that when Powis accused Him, (in the Course of that memorable Speech which made so deep an Impression on the House, pronounced in December, 1781;) of Insensibility to the Calamities of the Country, and of clinging to Employment, from unworthy Motives of an interested or pecuniary Nature; Lord North repelled the Imputation with the Calmness and Dignity of conscious Integrity. “I do not desire,” said he, “to make any affected Display of my personal Purity or Disinterestedness. I will how-

“ ever declare, that with Respect to my In-
“ come, I would most cheerfully give it
“ all ; not only the Part which I derive from
“ the public Purse, but, my own private
“ Fortune, if I could thereby accelerate
“ an honorable, speedy, and advantageous
“ Peace !” There was not, I believe, a Man
on the opposite Side of the House, without
even excepting George Byng or Sawbridge,
though both were bitter Enemies to the
Minister, who doubted either his Sincerity
or his Veracity. His Adversaries reproached
him likewise, that though incapable of per-
sonally descending to unworthy Means of
enriching himself, he allowed Peculations or
Abuses to be practised by those employed
under him. Sawbridge, when speaking in his
Place, as a Member of Parliament, alluding
to this Accusation, exclaimed with Cato,

“ Curse on his Virtues, they’ve undone his Country !”

A similar Charge was made against the
late Mr. Pitt, who, after having been first
Minister during almost his whole Life, left
only Debts behind him. But it never
entered into any Man’s Mind, however ini-
mical he might be, to accuse either Lord
North or Mr. Pitt, of making undue Pur-
chases in the public Funds, or of turn-

ing their Ministerial Information to private Purposes of pecuniary Emolument. They were known to be upright and disinterested. The great Defect of Lord North's Government arose from the Easiness of his natural Temper, which sometimes perhaps induced him to adopt, or to defend Measures, that had not always the Sanction of his Judgment. Another, and perhaps a greater Evil, arising from his Facility and Want of Energy, was, that he did not, like the great Earl of Chatham, sufficiently coerce the other Members of the Cabinet; each of whom, under Lord North, might be said to form a sort of independent Department. They were in fact, rather his Co-equals, than his Subordinates, as they ought to have been; and the public Service often suffered, as I well know, from their Want of Union, or from their clashing Interests, and private Animosities. Dundas himself, while making the Panegyric of his Friend the first Minister, yet avowed this constitutional Defect in his Formation of Mind. It happened on the 12th of December, 1781, during one of the Debates in the House of Commons previous to the Termination of the American War. "The noble Lord in the blue Ribband," said Dundas, "is actuated in all his Mea-

“sures, by the most disinterested Zeal for
“his Country. He wants only one Quality
“to render Him a great and distinguished
“Statesman ; I mean, a more *despotic* and
“*commanding Temper*.” Burke affected to
treat with contemptuous Ridicule, these
Eulogiums of the Lord Advocate on the
Chancellor of the Exchequer. “The Splen-
“dor of the *noble* Lord’s public Character
“and Administration,” observed He, “can
“only be equalled by the Sincerity of the
“*learned* Lord’s Praises.” But, whatever
Motives might be imputed to Dundas, the
Fact was indisputable. Lord North excited
Affection, as well as Respect ; and awakened
Admiration at his Variety of Talents and
Attainments. But, he knew not how to
inspire Terror, like the first Mr. Pitt ; of
whom Wilkes says, that “the keen Light-
“nings of his Eye spoke the haughty, fiery
“Soul, before his Lips had pronounced a
“Syllable.” Even his Son, the late first
Minister, though He wanted the Features of
the Father, inherited no inconsiderable Por-
tion of “the Lightnings of his Eye.”

Want of political Courage cannot be justly
attributed to Lord North. If we reflect
that his Administration equalled in Dura-

tion, the aggregate Period occupied by the five preceding Ministers, namely, Mr. Pitt, Lord Bute, Mr. Grenville, Lord Rockingham, and the Duke of Grafton;—and if we consider how critical, as well as perilous, were the Times, particularly during the Reverses of the American War, and throughout the Riots of June, 1780, which last Convulsions might have appalled the stoutest Mind; we shall not refuse him a just Claim to the Praise of ministerial Firmness. Even his ultimate Resignation in 1782, I am convinced, arose more from Disgust and Weariness, added to Despair, than from personal Fear, or from any Defect of Nerves. How well aware he was of the precarious Tenure by which he held his Power during the four or five last Years of the American War, and how suddenly he might be compelled to quit his official Residence in Downing Street, may be inferred from a single Circumstance. He had a House at the South East Angle of Grosvenor Square, which from its Situation in so elegant and fashionable a Quarter of the Town, would easily have found a permanent Tenant. But, Lord North, conscious on how frail a Basis his Administration reposed, would never let it for a longer Period than one Year. In Consequence of this

Principle, it annually changed its Possessors ; and being frequently taken by newly married Couples, it obtained the Name of *Honey Moon Hall*. To the House of which I speak, Lord North repaired at the Termination of his Ministry, and continued to reside in it while inhabiting London, down to the Time of his Decease in 1792. I have often paid my Respects to him there of Evenings, between his last Dismission from Employment in December, 1783, and the Close of his Life ; never without Sentiments of Admiration and Respect. Though not unguarded in private Conversation, or in Debate, he was careless in many Respects, to a Degree hardly credible. I have heard a Member of his Cabinet say, that it was dangerous to trust him with State Papers, which he perpetually mislaid or forgot. A Letter of the first political Importance, addressed to him by the King, which he had lost ; after a long Search, was found lying wide open in the Water-closet. A strong and mutual Affection subsisted between His Majesty and him, as was natural, after the many heavy Storms that they had weathered together, for so many Years. This Attachment on the Part of the former, though

shaken and interrupted when Lord North joined Mr. Fox in 1783, yet revived in the royal Bosom at a subsequent Period, on Lord North becoming blind; a Circumstance at which, when made known to him, His Majesty expressed the deepest Concern and Sympathy. He did not then probably foresee that he should himself be visited with the same Affliction; a point of Similarity between them, which is not a little remarkable.

Besides his Ministerial Offices, Lord North was Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Lady North enjoyed the Rangership of Bushy Park. It was there, that having escaped from the "*Fumum et Opes*" "*Streptumque Romæ*," surrounded by his Family, he appeared peculiarly an Object of Esteem and of Attachment, divested of all Form or Ostentation; lively and playful as a Boy, yet never without Dignity; diffusing Gaiety and good Humor round him. Even those who opposed the *Minister*, involuntarily loved the *Man*. I have had the Honor to visit him at Bushy Park, to dine with him when no other Stranger was present, and to participate of the Scene that I here

describe. As *Pope* asserts of Sir Robert Walpole, so may I on this Subject say,

“ Seen him I have, but in the social Hour

“ Of private *Converse*, ill exchanged for Power.”

The Earl of Guildford, Lord North's Father, attained to a very advanced Age: I believe, to eighty-six, and had nearly survived his Son, only dying about two Years before him. So that Lord North, like his Predecessor, Sir Robert Walpole, remained a Member of the House of Commons, during almost his whole Life. Lord Guildford had been three Times married; Dr. North, the present Bishop of Winchester, being his Son by the second Wife. Lord North sprung from his first Marriage. The Minister secured the Reversion, if I may so term it, of the Bishoprick of Winchester, for his Brother, by a Piece of Address. For, the Archbishopial See of York having become vacant on the Decease of Dr. Drummond; Lord North, who knew that the King had destined that high Ecclesiastical Promotion for Dr. Markham, then Bishop of Chester, determined nevertheless to ask it for Dr. North, Bishop of Worcester. Conscious that he should meet with a Refusal, for which he was prepared, he ably made it

subservient to the Attainment of his real Object, Winchester ; a Mitre that might be reasonably expected soon to drop, from the Age and Infirmities of its Possessor, Dr. Thomas. When Lord North preferred his Request, the King replied, that it was impossible to gratify him, as the Archbishoprick of York must be conferred on the Bishop of Chester. The First Minister insisted : but the Sovereign remained firm, recapitulated the Obligations which he owed to Dr. Markham, for his Care of the Prince of Wales's Education, and left no Prospect of effecting any Change in his Resolution. " Your Majesty then," said Lord North, " will, I hope, have no Objection to give my Brother, the See of Winchester, whenever " it may become vacant?" " Oh, by all " means," answered the King, " You may " rely on it : " a Promise, which soon afterwards received its Accomplishment.

I will conclude the Subject of Lord North, on which I dwell with Complacency, by observing, that though he cannot be esteemed a great Statesman in the most comprehensive Sense ; tho' he neither possessed those vast Energies of Character and

extraordinary Talents, which have immortalized the first Mr. Pitt; nor that Assemblage of Qualities fitted for the Conduct of a popular Government, which distinguished the second Mr. Pitt;—tho' Lord North was even a very unfortunate, as well as a most unpopular Minister, during the far greater Part, or the whole Course of his Administration; yet he possessed distinguished Claims to national Esteem. The American War formed the Weight which dragged him down: a Load that would have sunk the great Lord Chatham himself, if he had attempted to lift it, notwithstanding his Endowments of Mind, sustained by popular Favor. In the Year 1758, when that eminent Statesman was called to the Direction of public Affairs, not by the Sovereign, but by the Nation, he had only to conduct and point the Resources of the Country, against France. His Son, in 1793, beheld himself placed, as the Champion of Order, Morals, Religion, and monarchical Government, in Opposition to the most sanguinary and detestable Republic, (if a fierce Democracy, whose Sceptre was the *Guillotine*, could be with Justice entitled to that Denomination;) which ever arose among Men. Both Ministers were in some Measure sus-

tained and impelled by the very Contest. But, Lord North, who derived little Support from his Countrymen, and none from the Nature of the War, could only look to the Crown for Protection against public Clamor, in, and out of Parliament. In the Distribution of Honors and Dignities, he was far more sparing than his Successor; a Fact of which we shall be convinced, if we compare the List of Peerages created between 1770 and 1782, with those made by Mr. Pitt, when first Minister, within the same Portion of Time, during any Period of his Administration. Nor was Lord North equally profuse of the Public Money, as Mr. Pitt proved himself, whatever Severity of Censure he underwent for his Extravagance or Negligence, in the Management and Expenditure of the Finances. No Impeachment of any subordinate Minister, or of any Member of his Cabinet, ever took place, for Defalcation, or Misapplication of Sums which passed through his Hands, as we witnessed in 1805. Yet the Opposition in the Lower House of Parliament, during the whole Progress of the American War, exceeded in Numbers, and at least equalled in Virulence, the Minority which impeached Lord Melville.

As a Man, considered in every private Relation, even in his very Weaknesses, Lord North was most amiable. Under that Point of View, his Character will rise on a Comparison with any first Minister of Great Britain, who existed, during the Course of the Eighteenth Century; not excepting Lord Godolphin, Mr. Pelham, or the Marquis of Rockingham. The two former Individuals were justly accused of a Passion for Play, which accompanied them through Life; a Vice from which Lord North was wholly exempt. *Burnet*, who recounts the Fact relative to the Lord Treasurer Godolphin, says, "He loved Gaming the most of any Man of Business I ever knew; and gave one Reason for it; because it delivered him from the Obligation to talk much." *Dodington*, when relating Mr. Pelham's Attachment to the same ruinous Gratification, adds, that he studiously concealed it with the utmost Care. Lord North possessed better intellectual Resources in himself. He possessed likewise the highest Sources of Enjoyment in his Family, surrounded by his numerous and amiable Children. The Marquis of Rockingham, however personally estimable, was childless; and Lord Bute's Fire-side was not characterized by

the same Expansion of the Heart, the same Emancipation from all Severity of Form, or the same Ebullitions of Fancy and Intélect. His immediate Predecessor, the Duke of Grafton, respecting whom “Junius” observes, when speaking of his domestic Qualitiès, “Your Grace has now made the complete Revolution of the political Zodiac, “from the *Scorpion* in which you stung “Lord Chatham, to the Hopes of a *Virgin* “in the House of Bloomsbury;”—the Duke could support no Competition with Lord North, in the endearing Charities of Life, where the Minister becomes merged in the Father, the Husband, and the Individual. If we would try to find his Equal in these Endowments and Virtues, we must remount to Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, or to Hyde, Earl of Clarendon.—Every Beholder, while contemplating the Monument where rest the Remains of the great Earl of Chatham, or of the Second Mr. Pitt, erected to their Memory by national Gratitude, must be penetrated with Emotions of Admiration and Respect: but, all those who personally knew Lord North, or had ever mixed with him in Society, when regarding his Tomb, would involuntarily find their Eyes suffused in Tears.

The Post of Secretary of State for the *Northern* Department, was at that Time filled by Lord Stormont; a Nobleman who having passed great Part of his Life in a diplomatic Capacity, on the Continent, principally at the Courts of Dresden and Vienna, necessarily possessed a considerable Knowledge of the Interests and Politics of Europe. He had nevertheless manifested no great Vigilance, nor displayed any superior Penetration, during his recent Embassy at Paris; where, it was commonly believed, he had been deceived by the Protestations, or duped by the Artifices, of Maurepas and of Vergennes, previous to the open Interference of France in the Affairs of America. I well remember, *Powis*, when speaking of him, on the 8th of March, 1782, in the Course of a Speech which made a deep Impression on the House of Commons; observed, “ Lord Stormont fills the Post of one of the Secretaries of State. But, what Treaties has he ever signed? In what Instance has he ever displayed the Talents of a Statesman or a Politician? Perhaps he may have received at his Office, and notified to the King in due Form, Accounts of the Birth, the Marriage, or the Death of fo-

“ reign Princes. But, all his Politics seem
“ there to terminate. How far he can be
“ regarded as a proper Minister to nego-
“ tiate Peace with the American Colonies,
“ we may infer from one of his Answers
“ to them.”—“ His Majesty’s Ministers re-
“ ceive Applications from Rebels, only when
“ they sue for Pardon.” Yet, what other
Reply could Lord Stormont then make,
representing, as he did, the King, whose
Embassador he was at the Court of Ver-
sailles? Decorated with the Insignia of the
Order of the Thistle, his Person, noble and
imposing, presented the Appearance of a
Man of Quality : but, his Manners, desti-
tute of Amenity, stiff and constrained, were
not calculated to ingratiate, or to seduce.
His Enemies accused him of Parsimony;
and his greatest Admirers admitted that he
bore no Resemblance to *Timon*, either in his
Household, his Table, or his general Ex-
pense. His near Alliance to the Earl of
Mansfield, of whom he was the Nephew and
collateral Heir, if it conferred no Claim to
popular Favor, unquestionably conduced to
render him more acceptable at St. James’s.
Even his Opponents admitted him to pos-
sess Judgment, as well as Application; and

whenever he rose in the House of Peers, he displayed a thorough Acquaintance with the Subject on which he spoke, together with great Precision of Language, and Force of Argument.

The Earl of Hillsborough, who held the *Southern* Department, was a Man of elegant Manners, and wanted neither Ability, nor Attention to public Business : but, his natural Endowments, however solid, did not rise above Mediocrity. He had owed his political, as well as personal Elevation in Life, more to his good Sense, Penetration, Suavity, and Address, than to any intellectual Superiority. At St. James's he was more at Home, than at Westminster; and might rather be esteemed an accomplished Courtier, than a superior Minister. His Mind was indeed highly cultivated, but, it seemed to be rather the Information of a Gentleman, than the Knowledge of a Statesman. I have seen him much embarrassed and disconcerted in the Session of 1781, when called on officially in the House of Lords, to explain, or to justify, the Measures adopted in Bengal:—an Embarrassment which arose from his Ignorance of

Names, Places, and Circumstances in that Quarter of the Globe, with which, as Secretary of State for the East Indies, he ought to have been acquainted. We must however recollect that very few Persons, except such as were locally connected with India, had then attained any accurate Information respecting the Company's Territories, Revenues, and Affairs. Of this Assertion I could adduce many Proofs. In February, 1782, when Lord Shelburne, while speaking in the House of Peers, made Allusion to "a King, " or Supreme Rajah of the Mharattas," he felt himself compelled to explain to their Lordships, the Nature and narrow Limits of that nominal Sovereignty; with which, as well as with the Office of "Peshwa," or efficient Ruler of the Mharatta Empire, nine-tenths of his Audience were utterly unacquainted. I recollect the Astonishment, not unmingled with some Degree of Ridicule, excited in the House of Commons, on Governor Johnstone's first Mention and Description of the Harbour of Trincomalé in the Island of Ceylon; a Bay, which probably, till that Occasion, had never been heard of by the greater Part of the County Members. Though the Irruption of Hyder

Ally into the Carnatic in 1780, powerfully awakened and attracted the national Attention to the Subject ; it was Fox's memorable " Bill," followed at a short Interval, by Hastings's Trial, that diffused over the whole Kingdom, an Eagerness for Oriental Knowledge.

But, Lord George Germain, who presided over the American Department, excited from a variety of Causes, far more public Consideration, while he presented a fairer Mark for parliamentary Attack, or for popular Declamation, than either of the other Secretaries of State. His recognized Abilities, the Circumstance of his being a Member of the House of Commons ; not, like his two Colleagues, removed from the front Ranks of Warfare, by their Situation in the upper House of Parliament ; even the Events of his former Life, when commanding the British Forces in Germany ; and above all, the Object of the War in which we were engaged ; a War, that at the Commencement of 1781, still professed to be the Subjugation of the revolted Colonies ;—these united Circumstances rendered him, after Lord North, the most prominent Person in Administra-

tion. As I had the Honor to enjoy a Place in his Friendship, and to live with him during the latter Years of his Life, on Terms of great Intimacy, I may pretend to have known him well. Nor will I deny that I am partial to his Memory : but, that Partiality will never induce me to pervert, or to misrepresent any Fact ; though I am aware that it may unintentionally bias my Opinions. He had completed his Sixty-fifth Year, at this Time ; but, a Frame of Body naturally robust, and a vigorous Constitution, secured him almost uninterrupted Health, together with the Enjoyment of all his Faculties ; among which, his Memory was conspicuous. In his Person, which rose to near six Feet, he was muscular, and capable of enduring much bodily, as well as mental, Fatigue. Though his Features were strongly pronounced and saturnine, yet, considered together as a whole, their Effect by no means displeased. An Air of high Birth and Dignity, illuminated by strong Sense, pervaded every Lineament of his Face. His Countenance indicated Intellect, particularly his Eye, the Motions of which were quick and piercing. On first Acquaintance, his Manner and Air impressed

those who approached him, with an Idea of proud Reserve ; but no Man, in private Society, unbent himself more, or manifested less Self-importance. In the midst of his Family ;—for he rarely dined from home, except at the Cabinet Dinners ; and in the Company of a few select Friends, he soon forgot the Toils annexed to public Life, the Asperities of Debate, and the Vexations of Office. Even after the latest Nights in the House of Commons, he always sat down to a delicately served Table, drank a Pint of Claret, unbent his Mind, and passed in Review the Incidents of the preceding Evening. It was then that his Conversation became most entertaining ; seasoned with curious Anecdotes collected during the Course of a long Life, passed in the highest Circles, amidst the greatest Affairs, in England, Ireland, Scotland, and on the Continent, where he had served ; embracing the Secret History of the present, and of the two late Reigns. Nor was his Information limited to the Accession of the Hanoverian Line, but extended to the preceding Sovereigns. The Duchess of Dorset, his Mother, had been a Maid of Honor to Queen Anne ; and his Father, the Duke, remembered William

the Third. When Lord George entered on the Events of those Times, he might be said to raise the Curtain that concealed from vulgar Eyes, the Palaces of Whitehall, of St. James's, of Kensington, and of Hampton Court. The private Adventures, all the minute Recitals calculated to awaken, as well as to gratify Curiosity; many Particulars relative to the illustrious Persons of both Sexes who composed the Courts of William and of Anne; Particulars, which though the Gravity of History may disdain, yet which delight and instruct;—such were the frequent Subjects of his Discourse. Had I committed to Paper at that Period, the Materials which he profusely threw before me, I might have composed a Work of the highest Interest to the present Age, and to Posterity: but, mine are only Reminiscences.

Though Lord George Germain was so highly born, his Education did not altogether correspond with his Extraction, and he owed far more to Nature, than to Cultivation. He had, indeed, been brought up in the College of Dublin; but he possessed little Information derived from Books, nor had he improved his Mind by extensive

Reading, in the Course of subsequent Years. Even after his Retreat from public Employment, in the Decline of Life, when at Drayton, where he possessed a fine Library, he rarely opened an Author, except for a short Time on his Return from coursing, shooting, riding, or other favorite Exercises. He had visited Paris, when young, with his Father, the Duke of Dorset; and the French Language was familiar to him: but, with Horace, Tacitus, or Cicero, he had formed little Acquaintance. His Initiation into public Life, Politics, and Parliament, took place too early, to admit of storing his Mind with classic Images or Ideas. Though he was versed in English History since the Time of Elizabeth, during which Period of near two Centuries, some one of his immediate Ancestors had almost always sat, and sometimes presided, in the Councils of the Sovereign, he was not conversant in our Annals of an earlier Date. But, on the other Hand, he had witnessed much with his own Eyes, he had heard still more from others, he seized with Ease on whatever was submitted to his Understanding, and he forgot nothing.

In Business he was rapid, yet clear and ac-

curate; rather negligent in his Style, which was that of a Gentleman and a Man of the World, unstudied, and frequently careless, even in his official Dispatches. But, there was no Obscurity or Ambiguity in his Compositions. Capable of Application in Cases of Necessity, he nevertheless passed little Time at the Desk, or in the Closet: and while Secretary of State, under critical, as well as perilous Circumstances, when every Courier brought, or might bring, Accounts the most disastrous; no Man who saw him at Table, or of an Evening in his Drawing-room, would have suspected from his Deportment and Conversation, that the Responsibility of the American War reposed principally on his Shoulders. More than one Member of the Cabinet was supposed to enjoy a greater Degree of personal Acceptability with the King; but, none exercised the Privilege of speaking with more Freedom to him. Lord George seldom hazarded to ask Favors; but, when he undertook any Cause, he rarely receded till he had obtained the Object. Dr. Eliot, who then practised Physic with some Celebrity, and of whose medical Skill Lord George entertained a high Opinion; induced him to exert

his Interest at Court, for procuring the Doctor to be created a Baronet. The King, who disliked Eliot personally, and regarded his professional Talents with as little Partiality, displayed much Repugnance to grant the Request. Yielding however at last, "Well, my Lord," said he, "since you desire it, let it be: but, remember, He shall not be my Physician." "No, Sir," answered Lord George, bowing, "He shall be your Majesty's Baronet, and my Physician." The King laughed, and Eliot was raised to the Baronetage.

In the House of Commons, down to the last Hour that Lord George remained a Member of that Assembly, he was constantly the Object of the severest, and most pointed Attacks of the Opposition; who always hoped to force from his Irritability, the Secret or the Fact, which they had vainly attempted to extort from the Apathy and Tranquillity of Lord North. In this Endeavour they frequently succeeded: for, Lord George, goaded by Reproaches, often fictitious, frequently unjust, and always exaggerated, generally started up sooner or later; repelled the Charges advanced; and in so

doing, sometimes put the Adversary in Possession of the very Matter which they sought to discover. I have continually witnessed the Fact to which I allude. Fox himself admitted this characteristic Feature of Lord George's Formation of Mind. I recollect, that during the Debate which took Place, relative to the Capture of the Island of St. Eustatius, in the Session of 1781; Fox, while he censured most severely the Proceedings of our Commanders, in their Confiscation of the private Property there found, acknowledged "the unwary Frankness of "the Secretary of State, (Lord George,) as "a Quality for which he was sometimes "praised *in* the House of Commons, and "blamed *out* of it." A still more conspicuous Exhibition of this Merit, or of this Defect, in his Character,—for I am uncertain under which Class it ought to be ranked;—I witnessed only a few Days later in the same Session. Burke having brought forward a very pointed and serious Charge against Government, for Neglect in not supplying the Garrison of Gibraltar, then besieged by the Spaniards, with Gunpowder; in Consequence of which egregious Want of Precaution, Admiral Darby, when sent to the Relief of the Fortress, was reduced to the

Necessity of stripping his Fleet, in Order to leave two Thousand Barrels of Powder in the Magazine; Sir Charles Cocks, Mr. Kenrick, Sir Charles Frederick, and other Members of the Board of Ordnance, who were present, attempted to contradict the Story, as not authentic, or of which they had at least no Information. But, George Byng persisting in the Charge, and demanding a more satisfactory Answer, the American Secretary rose, and observed that though he could only speak from Rumor, and had no official, nor other Intelligence on the Point to communicate, yet that his own Opinion was, the Report had a Foundation in Truth. He added, that if it should so turn out, Admiral Darby had acted in a very meritorious Manner, by leaving for the Supply of the Garrison, whatever Quantity of Gunpowder he could spare, without endangering the Safety of his own Fleet. Lord North remained silent during this Avowal of Lord George, and took no Part whatever in the Debate.

Lord George spoke, as he wrote, without much Premeditation, from the Impulse of the Occasion; in animated, rather than in correct Language; with Vehemence, but,

not without Dignity. His Voice was powerful, and his Figure commanding; though he did not always thoroughly possess himself, nor display the Coolness demanded by so trying a Situation as that of American Secretary. His Opponents, who well knew, availed themselves of this Defect in his Formation of Mind. On the other Hand, the Keeness of his Sight gave him a prodigious Advantage over Lord North, when in the House of Commons. Lord George Germain had no sooner taken his Seat on the Treasury Bench, than he pervaded with a Glance of his Eye, the Opposition Benches; saw who attended, as well as who were absent; and formed his Conclusions accordingly on the Business of the Day. He used to say, that for those who were enabled to exercise this Faculty, every Thing was to be *seen* in the House; where, on the contrary, nothing except Declamation, was to be gained by the *Ear*. No Man better understood the Management of Parliament; the Prolongation or Acceleration of a Debate, according to the Temper or the Number of the Members present; and every Detail of official Dexterity or Address, requisite in conducting Affairs submitted to a popular Assembly.

To all these Arts of Government, he had served two long and severe Apprenticeships in Ireland, as Secretary to his Father, the Duke of Dorset, when successively Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom. In political Courage and Firmness he was not deficient. I have seen him in Circumstances which sufficiently put those Qualities to the Proof, towards the Close of the American War, when Intelligence arrived of Lord Cornwallis's Surrender at York Town: a Disaster of the most irreparable Nature, the Load of which fell almost exclusively on himself.

While summing up Lord George's Character, it is so impossible not to think of the Business at Minden, and consequently not to allude to it, that my Silence on this Subject, would seem to imply my Conviction of the Justice of the Sentence passed on him by the Court Martial. On the other Hand, I feel how delicate and invidious a Matter it is, on which to touch, even at the Distance of more than half a Century. Yet, as *personal*, and *political* Courage, though altogether dissimilar, are commonly considered to have an intimate Connexion; as we are even with Difficulty induced to allow, or duly to

estimate any Virtues, however eminent, in a Man whom we suppose to have been deficient in the former of those essential Qualities; as general Prejudice is certainly in Lord George's Disfavor, and as I may claim to possess some Information on the Subject; I shall enter briefly into the Disquisition.

I lay no Stress on Lord George Germain's illustrious Extraction, since we all know that the greatest Houses have produced the most degenerate Descendants; Instances of which in Point, to which, from Motives of Delicacy and personal Consideration I forbear alluding, have occurred in our own Times. Pope justly exclaims,

“What can ennoble Slaves, or Sots, or Cowards?”

“Alas! Not all the Blood of all the Howards!”

It is nevertheless an Incentive to noble Achievements, when we descend from those who have performed such Actions. The memorable *Letter of Edward*, Earl of Dorset, describing his Duel with Lord Bruce, under the Reign of James the First, commemorated in the “Guardian;” and the celebrated *Song*, beginning,

“ To all you Ladies now on Land,
“ We Men at Sea indite,”

which was composed by *Charles*, Earl of Dorset, Lord George's Grandfather, as we are assured, on the Night before the Engagement between the English Fleet, and that of Holland, commanded by Opdam, under Charles the Second's Reign:—these two Productions, which are as universally known as the Language in which they are written, sufficiently attest that he drew his Lineage from Men of Courage. His maternal Grandfather, Marshal Colyear, Brother of the first Earl of Portmore, and Governor of Namur, with whom Lord George passed much Time in his Youth; had grown grey in all the Sieges and Battles of the Low Countries, under William the Third. As soon as England took a Part in the War occasioned by the Accession of Maria Theresa, in 1743, Lord George was sent to the Continent; where he served, if not with marked Distinction, certainly without the slightest Reproach, under the Command of Lord Stair, and of His late Britannic Majesty. In 1745, at the Battle of Fontenoy, where such a Number of our Officers fell, he received a Mus-

ket-ball in the Breast, and was thrown upon a Waggon, with many others. He had preserved the Uniform that he wore on that Day, which I have seen and examined; bearing on it the Mark of the Ball, corresponding to the Place where he was struck, and other Holes in the Skirts of the Coat, perforated by Bullets. During the domestic Rebellion that followed the Defeat of Fontenoy, being recalled to his own Country, he accompanied William, Duke of Cumberland, from the Commencement, to the Close, of the Insurrection in Scotland; where great Commendation was bestowed on his Services.

Among the Dorset Papers, which I have seen, were preserved a Series of Letters, addressed by him to the Duke his Father, containing many interesting Incidents of the Years 1745 and 1746, while he was serving in the Highlands, against the Rebels. On the breaking out of the War in 1756, he accompanied the late Duke of Marlborough, on those desultory Expeditions to the Coast of Normandy and Brittany, productive of little Benefit, and of still less Honor, when we bombarded St. Malo, and demolished

Cherburgh. After the Demise of the Duke, which took place at Munster, towards the Close of 1758, it is well known that Lord George commanded the British Forces during the ensuing Campaign; and in particular, at the Battle of Minden. That he did not advance at the Head of the Cavalry, on that Occasion, with the Celerity that might have been wished; and that his Delay is ever to be regretted on a *national* Account, because, if he had so advanced, the Defeat of the Enemy would have been much more complete; that consequently he became a just Subject of Blame or of Censure, if we judge by *the Result*, and not by *the Motive*;—all these Points must be conceded to his Accusers. But, the only Question is, whether he manifested any such Backwardness to lead on the Horse, after he received Prince Ferdinand's Orders for that Purpose, as justly rendered him liable to the Suspicion of Reluctance, or to the Imputation of Cowardice?

The Depositions of Lieutenant Colonels Ligonier, Sloper, and Fitzroy, would certainly seem to affix on him, either one or the other of these Charges. But, the Evidence

of Lieutenant Colonel Hotham, as well as the positive Testimony of Captains Lloyd and Smith, two of Lord George's Aid-du-Camps, appear as completely to exculpate him. There were even negative, if not positive Doubts, stated by Hotham and Smith, relative to the Accuracy, not to say the Truth or Existence, of the asserted Conversation held by Colonels Fitzroy and Ligonier with Lord George, when they successively delivered him Prince Ferdinand's Orders. Captain Smith, Sir Sidney Smith's Father, I very intimately knew; who was himself a Man of distinguished personal Courage, strictly conscientious, and incapable of asserting any Fact that he disbelieved. He never entertained an Idea that Lord George was withheld by unbecoming personal Motives, from advancing at Minden. Even on the Testimony of Fitzroy, Sloper, and Ligonier, it plainly appeared that either Prince Ferdinand's Orders were in themselves contradictory, or were misunderstood by the Aid-du-Camps, or were imperfectly delivered by them. Lord George displayed evident Irresolution under those Circumstances. He first halted, and afterwards did not cause the Cavalry to advance with the Rapidity

that would have ensured the Enemy's entire Defeat. Probably, similar Accidents happen in almost every great Engagement. But, the World, which pardons the Excesses of intemperate Courage, never forgives the slightest Appearance of Backwardness in the Field. Prince Rupert, who three Times ruined the Affairs of Charles the First; who by his impetuous Valor, lost him the three Battles of Edge Hill, of Marston Moor, and of Naseby, is pardoned by Posterity: while Admiral Byng and Lord George Sackville remain under Imputation. Such, however unjust it seems, will ever be the Lot of Military Men who venture to hold back, when they might go forward in Action.

It must nevertheless excite no small Surprise, that Prince Ferdinand, though he alludes in the General Orders issued on the Day following the Battle, to Lord George's supposed Misconduct; yet, in the first Dispatches sent to this Country, containing the Account of the Victory, made no public Mention whatever of it; and some Days elapsed, before the Prince preferred any formal Accusation against him. I have seen among the Dorset Papers, a Series of Lord

George's Letters to his Father, written from the Allied Army, during that Campaign, extending to within very few Days of the Action at Minden. And I have likewise perused the Notes addressed to Lionel, Duke of Dorset, from the Foreign Office of the Secretary of State here, on the Arrival of the official Intelligence of the Engagement; felicitating the Duke on the Result of a Battle so glorious to this Country, and in which he must necessarily feel so deep a personal Interest. Not a Word, nor a Hint, appears in these Notes, of Lord George's supposed want of Alacrity. How are we to explain this Line of Conduct in the Prince? It would seem as if the Charge should have instantly followed the Act.

George the Second, it must be remembered, was at this Time near Seventy-six Years old; strongly prejudiced, as we well know, in Favor of his Relative and Countryman, Prince Ferdinand; and naturally chagrined at an Event, which, even though it should have been publicly recognized as the mere Effect of Misconception or Mistake in the Orders sent by the Commander-in-Chief, yet equally afforded Subject for Re-

gret, on Account of its injurious public Consequences. Under these Circumstances the Court Martial took place, and the King's Sentiments respecting Lord George's Culpability, were universally known throughout the Country. It is a Fact that His late Majesty sent him a Message, acquainting him of his own Determination to put into Execution the Sentence of the Court, whatever it might be, without Delay or Mitigation. Lord George was tried in March, 1760. Had the late King died in October, 1759, instead of October, 1760; or if Lord George's Trial had taken Place in 1761, might not the Result, in all Probability, have been far less severe, or altogether different, under a new Reign, when the Clamour of the Hour had subsided?

Other Considerations come to the Aid of these Reflections. In 1759 and 1760, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswic occupied a high Place in the Admiration of the English Public; by whom he was considered as only inferior in the Field, to *the Protestant Hero*, as he was then absurdly denominated; Frederick, King of Prussia. But his Popularity, I mean, Prince Ferdinand's, proved of very

short Duration. As early as January, 1761, we may see "in Dodington's Diary," how low the Prince had fallen in general Estimation, and what serious Accusations were brought against him. Dodington, relating the Particulars of a Conversation which he had at that Time with the Earl of Bute, says, I told him, "that I thought Prince Ferdinand was become as unpopular in the Army, as he was once popular: that he was accused of three great Heads of Malversation. The first was, that he had exacted complete Pay for uncomplete Corps: the second, that not One Shilling of all those devastating Contributions, had been carried to the public Account: the third, that he had received good Money, and had paid the Troops in bad, to a very great Amount, and at a great Discount." These Charges do not appear to have ever been refuted. The Precedent of Admiral Byng, shot very unjustly, on an Accusation of Cowardice, was recent. If the Members of the Military Tribunal who tried Lord George, believed that he had committed the same Crime as the one imputed to that unfortunate naval Commander, why did they not pass on him the same Sentence? There

can be only one Answer. The Evidence brought forward, fell short of Proof; and under those Circumstances, they doubtless were not convinced that he merited Death. But, still, as the Prejudices, or prevailing Opinions of the Time, hardly admitted on the other Hand, of his Acquittal, they cashiered him. It is for Posterity to revise, perhaps to reverse, that Sentence: not juridically, but as a Court of Opinion, deciding in the last Resort, on all human Actions submitted to their Censure or Approval. I have endeavoured fairly to state the leading Circumstances, on which they may found a Judgment.

Lord George's Duel with Governor Johnstone, is a well known Fact. On that Occasion, even by his Adversary's Admission, he exhibited perfect Self-possession; presenting so fair and erect a Mark, while he calmly waited for the Governor's Fire, that it extorted from him an involuntary Testimony to Lord George's Courage. The late Lord Sydney, then Mr. Thomas Townsend, who was his Lordship's Second, equally witnessed and attested his Coolness. How can we believe or conceive that such a Man, on

such a Field as Minden, before so many Spectators, would, from personal Fear, have at once covered himself with Ignominy? As little is it proved, whatever we may suspect, that Motives of personal Animosity to Prince Ferdinand, with whom we know he was on bad Terms, operated on Lord George's Mind, and impelled him to delay moving forward with the Cavalry, to complete the Victory. It is evident, on the calmest and most dispassionate Review of the Transaction, which has obtained such a melancholy Celebrity in our Military Annals under George the Second; that an Ambiguity in Prince Ferdinand's Orders to Lord George, or a Contradiction in them, produced the whole Misfortune. We may indeed assert, or believe, that the British Commander intentionally misunderstood them. But, where was the Proof adduced of that Fact? Captain Ligonier brings an Order for *the whole* Cavalry to advance. Colonel Fitzroy, almost in the same Moment, orders only the *British* Cavalry to advance. On receiving these opposite Messages, Lord George halts the Cavalry, while he gallops up to Prince Ferdinand, in order to receive his personal Instructions. There might be Error in this

Delay, and public Injury might accrue from it, as Prince Ferdinand asserts did actually ensue, when in his "General Orders" above alluded to, he says, that if "the Marquis of Granby had been at the Head of the Cavalry of the Right Wing, he is persuaded, the Decision of that Day would have been more complete and more brilliant." Still there is no Proof of Lord George's voluntary Misconstruction of the Orders, or of his Reluctance to execute them; and the Error might have originated in Mistake, as well as in Volition. How easily would the whole Misfortune have been rendered impossible, if Prince Ferdinand had, like Prince Eugene of Savoy, whom he might have copied on this Point; only sent *one* of his successive Orders written in *Pencil*? Prince Eugene expressly says in his "Memoirs," "I derived much Benefit from always carrying in my Pocket a Pencil, to write in the Officer's Memorandum Book, the Order which I gave him to carry." Such was the constant Practice of that illustrious Commander, when in the Field; a Practice peculiarly demanded in the Instance before us, if Prince Ferdinand thought that he had any Reason to doubt Lord George's prompt and

ready Obedience. I return from this Digression.

The Earl of Sandwich, who had presided during ten Years at the Head of the Admiralty, was universally admitted to possess eminent Talents, great Application to the Duties of his Office, and thorough Acquaintance with Public Business. Like Lord George Germain, he was tall, of a vigorous Frame, apparently designed for Longevity; and his Physiognomy full of Expression: but Conviviality, rather than Forethought or profound Reflection, characterized his Features. A distinguished Votary of Wit, Conviviality, and Pleasure, like Wilmot, the licentious Earl of Rochester, from whom he lineally descended, he had nevertheless been early initiated into political Life; and was sent by Mr. Pelham, then First Minister, as one of the Plenipotentiaries in 1748, at the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. In all his official Functions he displayed Perspicuity, as well as Dispatch. No Naval Officer who stated his Demand to the first Lord of the Admiralty, with becoming Brevity, ever waited for an Answer; and he was accustomed to say, “If any Man will draw up his Case,

“ and put his Name at the Foot of the first
“ Page, I will give him an immediate Reply.
“ Where he compels me to turn over the
“ Sheet, he must wait my Leisure.” How
laconically, yet forcibly he could write, with
what Conciseness and Severity blended, he
exhibited in his memorable Note to Mr.
Eden, afterwards created Lord Auckland.
That Gentleman, when he quitted his poli-
tical Friends in 1786, in order to join Mr.
Pitt, who sent him over to Paris, for the pur-
pose of negotiating the Commercial Treaty ;
addressed a circular Letter to them, endea-
vouring to explain and to justify his Line of
Conduct. Lord Sandwich, in Answer to
the Letter that he received on the Occasion,
instantly wrote back these Words. “ Sir,
“ your Letter is before me, and it will pre-
“ sently be behind me. I remain, Sir, your
“ most humble Servant.” For the Accu-
racy of this Anecdote, I think I may an-
swer, having received it from the late Earl
of Sandwich, his Son ; though the “ Quar-
terly Review” has had the Impudence and
Folly to assert that “ the Joke was the Pro-
“ perty of Lord North.” Polite, accessible,
and endowed with great natural Capacity, it
might have been expected that as first Lord

of the Admiralty, he would acquire the public Favor, in no less a Degree than he enjoyed the Confidence of his Sovereign. But, many Causes conduced to render him an Object of popular Dislike or Disapprobation; some of which were personal, others political. At an early Period of His Majesty's Reign, Wilkes and Churchill combined their Powers, in order to expose his Character to universal Condemnation. The former, in his "Letter to the Electors of Aylesbury," written from Paris, in October, 1764, designates Lord Sandwich, as "the most abandoned Man of the Age:" while Churchill, in his Poem of the "Candidate," speaking of him, says,

"Vice, bold substantial Vice, puts in her Claim,
And stamps Him perfect in the Books of Shame.
Observe his Follies well, and you would swear,
Folly had been his first, his only Care.
Observe his Vices, you'll that Oath disown,
And swear that he was born for Vice alone.
Search Earth, search Hell, the Devil cannot find
An Agent like *Lothario* to his Mind."

However unjust or exaggerated might be these Accusations; yet we must own that the Part he took in denouncing the "Essay on

Woman," to the House of Peers, laid him open to the Charge of Breach of Confidence; and attracted towards him the severest Animadversions of the Author, whose Pen inflicted the most incurable Wounds. Though he had already attained at this Time, his sixty-second Year, his licentious Mode of Life seemed more befitting a Minister of Charles the Second, than a confidential Servant of George the Third. His Fortune, which did not altogether correspond with his high Rank, and Habits of Gratification or Expense, was supposed to lay him open to Seduction; or at least to render him capable of listening to Propositions, that a more independent Man might have disdained. Even his warmest Adherents reluctantly admitted that the Unanimity and Concord, which previous to his being placed at the Head of the Admiralty, characterized the British Navy, was become extinct under his Administration. I well recollect, the Honorable Captain John Luttrell, who in January, 1782, when Fox attacked Lord Sandwich, defended him with great Zeal and no ordinary Ability, in the House of Commons; yet did not attempt to deny this Feature of the Time. "At present," said

he, “ the Navy is torn to Pieces by Dissensions. Officers scarcely ever see each other, except on Duty. Nor have they any longer Access to the Tables of their Superiors, as formerly, when an *Anson*, a *Boscawen*, a *Hawke*, a *Saunders*, and a *Keppel* commanded the Fleets of England. Then, all was Cordiality, Ardor, and Affection. The Commanders took a Pride in teaching the inferior Orders their professional Duties. Now, Party, Disunion, mutual Jealousy, and Want of Confidence, are universal.” It would however be unjust to attribute so deplorable a Change, to the Character, System, or Conduct of the Minister who presided at the Head of the naval Department. It originated in the Nature and Spirit of a civil Contest, which unhappily divided in Sentiment the whole Nation; and like the Wars under Charles the First, tho’ not in so extended a Degree, pervaded the Island from one Extremity to the other; tearing asunder in many Instances, the closest Connexions of Friendship, or even of Consanguinity. Ambition and Self-Interest, two of the most powerful Impulses to human Action, were not always Proof to political Opinions, during the Course of the Ame-

rican War, as we witnessed in various Instances.

Lord Sandwich's Enemies, who were numerous and violent, maintained that even Official Appointments were sometimes conferred, under Conditions not honorable to the first Lord of the Admiralty. Naval Commanders, sent to important Stations, on which great Emoluments might be naturally expected to arise from Captures, were asserted to have a fellow Feeling with their Patron, and even to divide with him a certain Proportion of their pecuniary Acquisitions. However improbable or unproved were these Assertions, which doubtless originated in party Malevolence; yet, as Names and minute Particulars were added or invented, they obtained general Credit, and made a deep Impression. All the Eloquence of Fox in one House of Parliament, and all the laborious Pertinacity of the Duke of Richmond in the other, had been employed during successive Sessions, not without Effect, in impressing the public Mind with unfavourable Sentiments towards him. Palliser was represented as the Object of his Partiality; Keppel, as the Victim of his

Persecution. During the Riots of the preceding Summer, in June, 1780, he had been marked out by the Mob, as a Sacrifice, and narrowly escaped the Effects of their blind Animosity.

There can remain no reasonable Doubt in the Mind of any impartial Man, that when Lord Sandwich succeeded Sir Edward Hawke in that great Office, the Admiralty; on the able and vigorous Administration of which, the Consequence, Power, and Grandeur of Britain so eminently depend; he found the Navy in a State of Decline and Depression. An injudicious, narrow System of Economy, had reduced the Fleet to such a Point, during the seven Years subsequent to the Peace, that in 1770, when we were menaced with a Rupture, on the Business of Falkland Islands, it was found impossible speedily to fit out a Force competent to impose the Law on Spain. Lord Hawke, great on the Element of the Water, where he had triumphed over, and nearly annihilated the French Fleet in 1759, made a very inefficient first Lord of the Admiralty. I believe, this Fact was not contested by the warmest Admirers of that illustrious

Commander, though Admiral Keppel, in a Speech pronounced towards the Close of the American War, when every Species of Obloquy was heaped on Lord Sandwich, with a View to drive him out of Office; alluding to Sir Edward Hawke, denominated him “the Father of the English Navy, whom it “was now the Fashion to revile.” But, Lord Mulgrave, rising immediately in Reply, observed, “I love and revere the Memory of that gallant Seaman so much, that “I cannot sit here, and allow him to be degraded by unmerited Praise. He was indeed so great and so able a Seaman, that “he was not formed for the Details and civil “Duties of Office: nor did I ever consider “him as a great naval Minister.” Lord Sandwich was unquestionably industrious, zealous, indefatigable, enlightened, and in every Point of View adequate to the Duties of his Station; but he could not surmount the augmenting Pressure of War and Calamity, which between 1775 and 1782, pressed upon this Country. Yet scarcely had he been driven from the Admiralty for pretended Neglect or Want of Exertion, than the Fleet which he had just sent out to the West Indies, obtained the most glorious and decisive Victory over the Enemy.

With consummate Ability, Lord Sandwich had constructed a Species of political Citadel within the Ministerial Trenches, which acknowledged hardly any other Commander or Comptroller than himself. The India House constituted this Fortress, of which he was supposed to possess the secret Keys. Many of the leading Directors, among whom were the two Chairmen, looked for Orders, as it was commonly believed, not so much to Lord North, as to the first Lord of the Admiralty. The Influence, necessarily conferred by such a Source of Power, at a Time when the East India Board of Control had no Existence, cannot easily be estimated. He was not wanting in Endeavours to sustain his Interest in Leadenhall-Street, by every possible means ; and well aware of its Importance, he contrived to distribute among his chief Adherents in that Quarter, some of the minor Honors of the Crown. On all great Occasions, when the concealed Springs of that complicated Machine, denominated the *East India Company*, were necessary to be touched, Application was made to Lord Sandwich. Even the Intimations sent from the Treasury, often remained inefficient, till confirmed by him ; and when the first Minister, towards the

Close of the Year 1780, was prevailed on to recommend Lord Macartney for Governor of Madras, as Successor to Rumbold, he found that no serious Attention was paid to his Wishes, before the Admiralty lent its Co-operation. So vast a Field of exclusive Patronage and Favor, rendered its Possessor not only independent of his Colleagues in the Cabinet, but, formidable to them; and he might justly be accounted one of the most powerful, as he was certainly one of the most able, Members of the Administration.

Fox, in Order to render Lord Sandwich odious, did not hesitate to enumerate his commanding Interest in Leadenhall-Street, as one among his political Crimes. On the 23d of January, 1782, when Fox moved for a Number of Papers, preparatory to the proposed Enquiry into the Administration of the Admiralty under that Nobleman; he observed, that “ of all the Members of the Cabinet, there was not one more formidable
“ from Influence, if so formidable, as the
“ Earl of Sandwich. As first Lord of the
“ Admiralty, he could influence a whole
“ Profession. As a Minister, he must of

“ Course be sustained by the Influence of
“ his Colleagues in Office. But,” added
he, “ independent of these two Sources of
“ Influence, Lord Sandwich possesses a
“ third, which, though not equal to the
“ Power of the Crown, forms a material Ad-
“ dition to it; and when conjoined with it,
“ is sufficient to crush any Individual who
“ shall venture to bring forward Charges
“ against him. The Influence to which I
“ allude, *he derives from the East India*
“ *Company.*” Lord Mulgrave, who with
very considerable Ability and great Zeal de-
fended Lord Sandwich; after animadver-
ting severely on the *Calumnies* and *Invectives*
in which Fox had indulged himself against
the first Lord of the Admiralty; demanded,
“ What Connexion there was between the
“ supposed Influence possessed by the Earl
“ of Sandwich in the India House, and his
“ official Conduct at the Head of the naval
“ Department?” Fox proceeded so far on
the Occasion to which I allude, as to deno-
minate Lord Sandwich, “ *this faithful Ser-*
“ *vant of the King of France.*” Pulteney
treated Sir Robert Walpole in a similar
Manner. Adverting to the Capture made
by the Spaniards in 1780, when Captain

Moutray's Convoy fell into their Hands, Fox observed, that "the Circumstances attending it, augmented the Suspicion occasioned by many other Acts of the first Lord of the Admiralty; that *Hè was desirous to perform good and faithful Service to his Masters of the House of Bourbon.*" Not that Fox lent the slightest Faith to these calumnious Imputations, of which he well knew the Falsehood and Absurdity: but they were necessary towards attaining the great Object, of overturning Lord North's Administration. We cannot however reflect without Amazement, that a House of Commons should allow such Epithets to be used, and such Charges to be made, by one of its own Body, against a great Nobleman, an Earl of ancient Family renowned for Loyalty, holding one of the highest Employments, and himself a Member of the Cabinet. The Fact itself eloquently proves how low the Ministry was fallen in public Respect and Estimation, during the last Weeks that Lord North continued at the Head of Affairs.

With Lord Amherst, who had already passed his sixty-third Year, I was well acquaint-

ed. In his Person he was tall and thin, of an adust Habit, with an aquiline Nose, and an intelligent Countenance. His Manners were grave, formal, and cold. As Commander-in-Chief, or to speak more accurately, as commanding-in-Chief the Forces, he enjoyed a Place in the Cabinet. To Lionel, Duke of Dorset, he owed his first Entrance into the Army. From the Situation of a private Gentleman, descended of a good Kentish Family in Holmesdale, but, of very slender Fortune; his military Talents, and his Success in America, had deservedly elevated him to the British Peerage. Selected by the discerning Eye of the Earl of Chatham, he had been sent out as the Companion of *Wolfe*, whose brilliant Conquest of Quebec, was confirmed by Amherst's subsequent Reduction of Montreal and Upper Canada. Under the Shade of these Laurels so honorably earned, which had likewise been remunerated with the Order of *the Bath*, he seemed to challenge the National Esteem, not to say their Gratitude. Individually, he possessed both: but in his official Character, at the Head of the Army, he did not escape Censure on various Points materially affecting the Discipline and the Honor of the Service. Not that I

would be understood, when speaking of Lord Amherst, to make the same Assertion which *Junius* does of the Marquis of Granby, in his first memorable Letter, dated 21st January, 1769 : a Letter which fortunately for the Fame of “Junius,” induced Sir William Draper to become Lord Granby’s Defender, and thus attracted public Notice towards the Production. He there charges that Nobleman with “degrading the Office “ of Commander-in-Chief, into a Broker of “ Commissions.” But, though Lord Amherst was not liable to such an Imputation, yet neither he, nor any Subject except one nearly allied to the Throne, is raised by Birth and Situation, sufficiently above the Crowd of Petitioners who assail him in his military Capacity, to set at Defiance private Clamour, Menaces, and Importunity.

As a Member of the Administration, no Ability, however recognized or transcendent, and no past Services, however eminent they might be, could have secured the public Favor to Lord Amherst, in the midst of a War such as that carried on against America, marked by ill Success, and now be-

come almost hopeless in its prospective Objects. The constitutional Tranquillity of his Temper, secured him however from being ruffled at any Indications of popular Dissatisfaction. I have scarcely ever known a Man who possessed more Stoical Apathy, or Command over himself. Naturally taciturn and reserved, he rarely disclosed his Sentiments on any Subject of a political Nature. Even at the Cabinet Dinners, which were held weekly, I have heard Lord Sackville say, that though he usually gave his decided Affirmative or Negative to the specific Measure proposed, yet he always did it in few Words, often by a Monosyllable: but, never could without great Difficulty be induced to assign the Reasons, or to state the Grounds of his Opinion. He was disinterested, of an elevated Mind, that aspired beyond the Accumulation of Money. His Judgment was sound, and his Understanding solid; but, neither cultivated by Education, nor expanded by elegant Knowledge. From the high Sense entertained of his early Services beyond the Atlantic, he would have attracted universal Respect, if the Unpopularity attached to the Official and Ministerial Posts which he occupied, had not counterbalanced

the Operation of those resplendent Services on the public Mind.

Lord Thurlow, who at this Time had held the Great Seal between two and three Years, though in Point of Age, he was the youngest Member of the Cabinet, enjoyed in many Respects greater public Consideration, than almost any other Individual composing it. He had been indebted in his Youth, to the indefatigable Exertions and Importunities of the celebrated Duchess of Queensberry, the Friend of *Gay*, *Pope*, and *Swift*, for first procuring him from Lord Bute a Silk Gown, to which legal Distinction he long ineffectually aspired. His Talents had subsequently excited Admiration in both Houses of Parliament, not less than they attracted Notice at the Bar. While he sat in the House of Commons, as Attorney General, during more than seven Years, from 1771 down to 1778, Lord North derived the greatest Assistance from his Eloquence and Ability. His Removal to the House of Peers, would even have left an awful Blank on the Treasury Bench in the midst of the American War, if his Place had not, during the two succeeding Years, been

ably filled, perhaps fully supplied, by Wedderburn. As Speaker of the Upper House, Lord Thurlow fulfilled all the Expectations previously entertained of him by his greatest Admirers. His very Person, Figure, Voice, and Manner, were formed to lend Dignity, blended with Awe, to the Woolsack. Of a dark Complexion, and harsh, but, handsome and regular Features; with a severe and commanding Demeanour, which might be sometimes denominated stern; he impressed his Auditors with Respect, before he opened his Lips. Even his Eyebrows, like those of Jove, “*cuncta Supercilio moventis*,” conducted to complete the Effect of his Countenance on the Beholder. Energy, Acuteness, and prodigious Powers of Argument, characterized him in Debate. His comprehensive Mind enabled him, when he chose to exert its Powers, to embrace the Question under Discussion, whatever it might be, in all its Bearings and Relations. Nor, if we omit Lord Camden, who was already far advanced in Life, did the Opposition possess any jurisprudential Talents in the House of Peers, that could be justly put in Competition with those of Lord Thurlow.

Fox himself, during the whole Course of

Lord North's Administration, always excepted him from the Invectives with which he loaded the other Members of the Cabinet. I remember, on the 8th of May, 1781, when addressing the House of Commons, Fox observed, that "incapable as were His Majesty's
" Ministers, he must yet make one Exception, namely the Chancellor. He is able.
" He is honest. He possesses a noble and
" independent Mind. He stands alone, as
" a Part of such an Administration. His
" Situation and Treatment among his Col-
" leagues, correspond with the Features of
" his Character. They detest him for his
" Virtues. They envy him for his Abilities.
" They thwart and torment him by every
" Invention in their Power. They seize
" every Occasion to render his Position
" uneasy. But, from his great intellectual
" Resources, his unbroken Spirit soars
" above them ; manifesting at once his Con-
" sciousness of the Injuries meditated, and
" his Contempt of their Efforts." Again, on the 8th of March, in the subsequent Year, 1782, only a few Days before Lord North resigned, Fox, while expressing his Detestation of the Ministers collectively, added,
" Yet even among them, there exists one

“ for whom I entertain a great Respect. I
“ mean, the Lord Chancellor. He always
“ takes Care indeed to convince the World
“ that he has no Share in their Measures.”
If Lord Thurlow had really merited these
Eulogiums;—if, while despising and disap-
proving the Measures of the Cabinet in
which he sat and voted, he nevertheless
supported them in his Place on the Wool-
sack in the House of Peers, and on all Oc-
casions;—how relaxed must have been his
political Principles? But, Fox dispensed
his Praises, or his Censures, as I always
thought, with too much Regard to present
Circumstances; retracting the one or the
other, just as the Exigency of the Moment
dictated; and covering all Contradictions
under the Blaze of his Eloquence. Only
one Year later, in March, 1783, at which
Time he had formed his Union with Lord
North, he launched out into the severest
Accusations of Lord Thurlow, because at
that Time Fox knew, the Chancellor formed
the principal Impediment to *the Coalition*
getting Possession of the Government.

Lord Thurlow's admirable intellectual
Parts were nevertheless by no Means un-

accompanied with corresponding Defects. As Lord Chancellor, he was accused of Procrastination, in suffering the Causes brought before him in his Court, to accumulate without End. Perhaps, this Charge, so frequently made against those who have held the Great Seal, was not however more true, as applied to him, than of others who succeeded to his Office. But, even in Parliament, his Temper, morose, sullen, and intractable, sometimes mastering his Reason, prevented him from always exerting the Faculties with which Nature had endowed him; or at least clouded and obscured their Effect. In the Cabinet, these Shades of Character, which rendered him often impracticable, were not to be surmounted by any Efforts or Remonstrances. It can hardly be believed that at the weekly Ministerial Dinners, where, after the Cloth was removed, Measures of State were often discussed or agitated; Lord Thurlow would frequently refuse to take any Part. He has even more than once left his Colleagues to deliberate, while he sullenly stretched himself along the Chairs, and fell, or appeared to fall, fast asleep. If I had not received this Fact from an Eye Witness, and a Member of that

Cabinet, I should not indeed venture to report a Thing so improbable. The Circumstance was, however, it may be presumed, well known to Fox and his Friends.

Notwithstanding the Ruggedness and Asperity which he displayed, as well as the bold Freedom of Speech exercised by him; Qualities that procured him the Nick-name of *the Tyger*; no Man could at Times appear more pleasing, affable, and communicative in Conversation. I have once or twice seen him on such Occasions, which were more highly valued, because they were rare or unexpected. During the Period of his Youth, he had led a dissolute Life; and like "Ranger" in the "Suspicious Husband," had given Proofs of his Devotion to Pleasures, scarcely compatible, as it might have been thought, with the severe Studies and Profession of the Law. To these Irregularities, the Duchess of Kingston imprudently ventured to allude, when she said that she could relate "a Canterbury Tale," while on her Trial at the Bar of the House of Lords, when Thurlow filled the Post of Attorney General. Like Henley, Earl of Northington, his Predecessor in the

high Office of Chancellor, (the Lord Ringbone of Anstie's "Bath Guide,") Thurlow mingled Oaths and Execrations with his common Discourse. In the Afternoon of Life, Conviviality, Wine, and festive Society, unbent his Mind. It was in Company with Mr. Rigby, Lord Gower, Lord Weymouth, Mr. Dundas, and a few other select Friends, that he threw off his constitutional Severity. At the Pay Office in Whitehall, where Rigby then resided, Lord Thurlow frequently forgot the double Toils annexed to his Situation, as Head of the Law, and as Minister of State. Perhaps, on these Occasions, when the Bottle circulated freely, he sometimes indulged himself in Animadversions on Men and Measures, which were afterwards reported to Fox, and might in some Measure justify, or at least explain, the Expressions used by the latter, when speaking of Lord Thurlow, in the House of Commons. Possessed of Faculties so transcendent, however mingled with human Weakness and Infirmary, he must always be considered as one of the most distinguished Individuals who has sat in the Councils of George the Third, at any Period of his Reign.

We descend now to the less efficient Members of the Cabinet. Lord Bathurst, who had been at this Time President of the Council, ever since the Resignation of Lord Gower, in the Autumn of 1779, was Son to the celebrated Allen Bathurst, created a Peer by Queen Anne, in 1711; and who might, at the Time of his Decease, be considered as the last of the great Knot of Wits and Men of Genius, that rendered in some Measure illustrious, the short, as well as inglorious Ministry, of Oxford and Bolingbroke. It is to him that Pope addresses the “Third Epistle of his Moral Essays;” to him, in Conjunction with Lord Burlington, the famous Architect, that he alludes, when he says,

“Who then shall grace, or who improve the Soil?

“Who plants like *Bathurst*, or who builds like *Boyle*.”

He lived to an almost patriarchal Age, in Possession of nearly all the Faculties of his Body and Mind; passing the greater Part of the Evening of his Life, amidst those superb Woods, and under those Shades which he had reared, immortalized by *Pope*,

at Oakley Grove in Gloucestershire ; enjoying the rare Felicity to see his Son hold the Great Seal of England. I believe he died in 1775 ; having by a singular Destiny, which perhaps has no Parallel in our History, outlived more than sixty Years, the Princess who raised him to the Peerage.

His Son may probably be considered as the least able Lawyer to whom the Great Seal of this Country was confided, in the Course of the Eighteenth Century. Lord King, who became Chancellor under George the First, though he survived his Faculties, and is said to have drivelled on the Bench, originally displayed eminent intellectual Powers ; which deservedly raised him from an obscure Origin, his Father, having been a Bookseller at Exeter, to that great legal Dignity. Yet, Lord Bathurst held his Office during seven or eight Years ; and I have been assured that his Decrees, while he presided at the Head of the Court of Chancery, were in general regarded by the Bar, as wise, just, and unexceptionable. A Fact, equally singular as it is true, but, which I know from the best Authority, is, that from November 1775, down to June, 1778, compre-

hending a Period of more than two Years and a half, when Lord Weymouth and Lord Bathurst sat together in the same Cabinet; the former Nobleman, and not the Chancellor, decided all the Law Questions brought before them in their *ministerial* Capacity. His Decisions, dictated by admirable Sense, united Brevity and Perspicuity, to the most comprehensive Intelligence. Lord Bathurst was, of all the Members of Administration, the most advanced in Age; nor could he, like his Father, boast of Exemption from the Infirmities usually attendant on that Period of Life. A Degree of Caducity was visible in his Frame, and even his Mind did not appear to be wholly exempt from Decay. In Parliament, his Talents were rarely exerted; but, his unsullied Character, and moral Qualities, entitled him to universal Respect.

The Earl of Dartmouth, as Lord Privy Seal, in Right of his Office filled a Seat in the Cabinet. His near Affinity to Lord North, and that Circumstance alone, placed him ostensibly in Administration; Lord Dartmouth's Mother, Viscountess Lewisham, having married, after her first Husband's Decease, the Earl of Guildford. In his

public Character, whether in, or out of Parliament, he excited no Share of general Attention, and lays Claim to no Place in the History of his own Time.

The Secretary at War, on the contrary, though not possessing a Seat in the Cabinet, constituted an Object of universal Consideration, and attracted all Eyes towards him. Mr. Charles Jenkinson, since created Earl of Liverpool, occupied in 1781, that Employment. Few Persons in the Course of this long and eventful Reign, have played so important a Part behind the Curtain of State. Still fewer Individuals have attained to such Eminence, personal as well as political, unaided by the Advantages of high Birth, or of natural Connexions. Descended from a very respectable Family, that had been raised to the Baronetage by Charles the Second in 1661, his paternal Fortune was nevertheless of the most limited Description, when he commenced his Career. But, his Talents, which were admirably adapted to secure his future Elevation, soon dispersed the Clouds that attended the Morning of his Life. They recommended

him to Lord Bute, then at the Head of the Treasury, who made Mr. Jenkinson his private Secretary; and through the Interposition of that Nobleman, he became not only personally known to the Sovereign, but, highly acceptable at St. James's. When Lord Bute withdrew in 1763, from the Post of first Minister, Mr. Jenkinson still continued to occupy the same confidential Employment under his Successor, George Grenville; nor was he displaced till Lord Rockingham came into Power, in July, 1765; when Burke succeeded him in that Situation. Those who supposed or asserted, that a secret Communication was still maintained between Lord Bute and the King; as well as all those who chose to consider Lord Bute as the efficient, though concealed, Mover of the Machine of Government; accused Mr. Jenkinson of forming the confidential Medium, through which that Intercourse was principally maintained. So delicate a Trust, if we assume its Existence, necessarily exposed him to popular Clamour, as being equally unconstitutional in itself, and dangerous to the Liberties of the British People. But, in Proportion to the Obloquy

that such an Imputation excited, was the Respect that it attracted.

As Lord Bute gradually retired into the Shade of private Life, and became insensibly forgotten, Mr. Jenkinson proportionably came forward in his own Person, and on his own proper Merits. Throughout the whole Period of Lord North's Administration, from 1770 down to 1782, his Intercourse with the King, and even his Influence over the royal Mind, were assumed to be constant, progressive, commensurate with, and sometimes paramount to, or subversive of, the Measures proposed by the First Minister. However difficult of Proof such Assertions were, and however contrary, as I believe, they were to Truth or Fact, they did not operate the less forcibly on the Bulk of the Nation, and were not less eagerly credited by Men of all Parties. No Denials on the Part of Persons in Power, could erase the Impression, which Newspapers and Pamphlets industriously circulated through the Kingdom. In the House of Commons, where their Operation was widely felt; the Speakers in Opposition continually affected to consider Lord North, together with the whole Cabinet, as played

on by unseen Agents, who alone possessed the Secret of State, and the real Confidence of the Crown. "The noble Lord," said Fox, when addressing Parliament on the 26th of March, 1781, where I was present and heard him, "would never have been invited to accept his present Office, except under the Condition of promising to execute the Measures *chalked out* to him respecting America. He would not have been suffered to remain in Office, if he had declined to carry on the War with the Colonies. His Acquiescence in, and Submission to those weak, as well as wicked Measures, in madly beginning, and more madly persevering in that accursed War, *is the Price of his Place.*" Lord North, though he rose when Fox sat down, and though he answered many other Passages of Fox's Speech, with great Ability, descending to the most minute Details; yet neither denied this Charge, nor expressed any Indignation at such an Assertion. His Silence emboldened his Opponents, who did not scruple even to designate Mr. Jenkinson as the Depositary of this mysterious and undefined Influence; if not exclusively, yet in an eminent Degree. Of course, whenever he

rose to speak, all Attention was absorbed by him, as being the supposed Oracle who knew, and might promulgate, those hidden Truths of State, in which Ministers themselves, it was pretended, were not always allowed to participate, and of which he constituted the only certain Channel.

At this Time he was about Fifty-four Years of Age, and in his Person he rose above the common Height; but, his lank Limbs and Figure were destitute of Elegance or of Grace. The Expression of his Countenance, I find it difficult to describe, as without having in his Face any Lines strongly marked, it was not destitute of deep Intelligence. Reflection and Caution seemed to be stamped on every Feature; while his Eyes, like those of Don Manuel Ordonnez in "Gil Blas," were usually, even in Conversation, directed downwards towards the Earth. Something impervious and inscrutable seemed to accompany and to characterize his Demeanour, which awakened Curiosity, while it repressed or discouraged Enquiry. His Enemies asserted that he resembled a dark Lanthorn; and as much as the human Figure or Physiognomy

can ever be supposed to offer such a strange Similarity, unquestionably it existed in him. Even the twinkling Motion of his Eyelids, which he half closed from Time to Time in speaking, made the Allusion, however fanciful, more close and striking. Nor should it be omitted, when attempting to transmit to Posterity an imperfect Outline of the Person and Address of this celebrated Nobleman, that his Head continually revolving on its Axis while he addressed his Discourse either to the House of Commons, or to any Individual, moved in a perpetual Circle. His Manners were polite, calm, and unassuming; grave, if not cold; but, not distant, without any Mixture of Pride or Affectation. In Society, though reserved, he was not silent; and though guarded on certain Topics, communicative on ordinary Subjects. He always appeared as if desirous to disclaim, and to reject the Consideration, which he involuntarily attracted. It was not difficult, on a short Acquaintance, to discover that he had read Men, more than Books; though he had received an Academic Education, had been originally destined for the clerical Profession, and had even been admitted to Deacon's Orders. Yet he neither manifested the ele-

gant Information only to be acquired by visiting foreign Countries, nor the classic Ideas and Images derived from a Familiarity with the Productions of Antiquity. Even his Knowledge of modern History was rather financial and commercial, than general or critical. But, in Recompence for these Deficiencies of an ornamental Kind, he possessed more useful and solid Attainments, calculated to raise their Possessor in Life.

No Man in official Situation, was supposed to understand better the Principles of Trade, Navigation, Manufactures, and Revenue. He had written and published on those Subjects, in a Manner that sufficiently proved his profound Acquaintance with them. Supple, patient, mild, laborious, persevering, attentive to improve the favourable Occasions which presented themselves, and always cool, he never lost the Ground that he had once gained. As a Speaker in the House of Commons, he rose seldom, unless called out by particular Circumstances; nor, when on his Legs, did he ever weary the Patience of his Auditors. No Ray of Wit, Humor, or Levity, pervaded his Speeches. He neither introduced into them Metaphors,

Digressions, nor Citations. All was Fact and Business. His Language had nothing in it animated or elevated. Scarcely was it indeed always correct, or exempt from some little Inelegancies and Redundancies of Diction. But it never was defective in the Essentials of Perspicuity, Brevity, and thorough Information. He used to remind me of a Man crossing a Torrent on Stones; and so carefully did he place his Foot at every Step, as never once to wet his Shoe. I have seen him, before a crowded House, acquit himself with wonderful Dexterity, while Secretary at War, when officially addressing Parliament. Such Qualifications, even independent of the supposed Favor of the Sovereign, necessarily rendered him an Object of Respect and of Attention to every Party.

Rigby, sole Paymaster of the Forces, occupied scarcely an inferior Place to Jenkinson in the public Estimation, and seemed to fill a much higher, in his Opinion of himself. As if he had meant to shew that he acted independently of Ministers, and was above their Controul, he never sat on the Government Side of the House of Commons; but he did not on that Account give the less un-

qualified Support on all Occasions, to Administration. Sheridan, with equal Severity and Wit, animadverted on this Line of Conduct, during the Course of the Debate on the 8th of March, 1782; when Rigby, though he admitted that Lord North would act properly by resigning, yet added, that he should vote for that Nobleman's Continuance in Power. "The Right Honourable Gentleman," observed Sheridan, "has long declared that the American War ought to be abandoned, but he has invariably voted for its Prosecution. I nevertheless believe that he is very sincere. I doubt not that as a Member of this House, as a Privy Counsellor, and as a private Individual, he has always detested the War with America, as much as any Man. But, unfortunately, he has never been able to succeed in persuading *the Paymaster*, that it is a bad War. And in whatever Character he may *speak*, it is always *the Paymaster* who *votes* within these Walls. The Attacks which he sometimes makes on his noble Friend at the Head of Administration, are in Fact therefore only an ingenious Mode of giving him Support. They are only metaphorical: but, *Aye* and *No*

“are Speeches that do not admit of a *Trope*.” The obtrusive Manner in which, at the Levee, he often thrust himself between Persons of the greatest Rank, in Order more expeditiously to approach the Sovereign, sufficiently indicated the Value in which he held his personal Appearance at St. James’s. When in his Place in the House of Commons, he was invariably habited in a full dress Suit of Cloaths, commonly, of a purple or dark Colour, without Lace or Embroidery, close buttoned, with his Sword thrust through the Pocket. Corpulent in his Person, he was not on that Account, unwieldy or inactive. His Countenance was very expressive, but, not of Genius: still less did it indicate Timidity or Modesty. All the Comforts of the Pay Office seemed to be eloquently depicted in it; and the “*Lumen purpureum*”, which beamed from his suffused Features, served as a Comment on the Text of “Junius,” when he panegyricizes the Duke of Bedford’s solitary Protection of “blushing Merit,” in Mr. Rigby’s Person. His Manner, rough, yet frank; bold and overbearing, if not insolent, but, manly; admirably set off whatever Sentiments he uttered in Parliament.

Like Jenkinson, he borrowed neither from ancient, nor from modern Authors. His Eloquence was altogether his own, simple, strong and natural; addressed, not to the Fancy, but, to the plain Comprehension of his Hearers. Whatever he meant, he expressed indeed without Circumlocution, or Declamation. There was a happy Audacity about his Forehead, which must have been the Gift of Nature: Art could never attain to it by any Efforts. He seemed neither to fear, nor even to respect the House, whose Composition, as a Body, he well knew; and to the Members of which Assembly, he never appeared to give Credit for any Portion of Virtue, Patriotism, or Public Spirit. Far from concealing these Sentiments, he insinuated, or even pronounced them without Disguise; and from *his* Lips they neither excited Surprise, nor even commonly awakened Reprehension. Fox usually treated Rigby with great Courtesy; and on some Occasions, even with a Degree of Attention, approaching to Predilection or Regard:—Sentiments which always met with a suitable Return. Rigby had succeeded his Father, Lord Holland, in the Pay Office, after a short Interval of three Years. But, Sheridan observed no such

Management or Delicacy towards the Paymaster. On the same Day that he had commented with such ingenious Severity relative to the inconsistent, but, invariable Support extended by Rigby to Administration; Sheridan animadverted in strong Terms, on the disrespectful, or rather, the contemptuous Manner, in which, on all Occasions, he mentioned the constituent Body of the People. "That Right Honourable Member," said he, "treats the Petitions recently presented from various Parts of the Kingdom, "praying for a Termination of the American "War, in a way highly indecent, and at the "same Time equally impolitic. The People "begin to be sufficiently irritated, and Gentlemen will act wisely not to make Use of "contumelious Expressions towards them, "in this Assembly. They have borne much, "and it may perhaps be prudent not to insult their Patience." Rigby, though not easily arrested or intimidated, yet submitted in Silence to Sheridan's Reprehensions of his Conduct.

If Jenkinson might be esteemed the secret Oracle, to whom all those Men denominated *the King's Friends*, constantly looked for

Direction in difficult Cases, such as occasionally arose; Rigby was the avowed Standard round which they rallied. Their Numbers were considerable, though differently reported; and they were supposed by no Means to take their Directions implicitly on all Occasions, from the Treasury. “Junius” treats them with his accustomed Severity. “Ministers,” says he, when speaking of Parliament, “are no longer the public Servants of the State, but, the private Domestics of the Sovereign. One particular Class of Men are permitted to call themselves *the King’s Friends*, as if the Body of the People were the King’s Enemies: or as if His Majesty looked for a Resource or Consolation in the Attachment of a few Favourites, against the general Contempt and Detestation of his Subjects. Edward and Richard the Second, made the same Distinction between the collective Body of the People, and a contemptible Party who surrounded the Throne.” Even in the House of Commons, *the King’s Friends* were alluded to by *Name*. I remember, on the 15th of March, 1782, which formed the last Debate that took Place within those Walls, previous to Lord North’s Resignation; a

Member of Opposition, Mr. Harrison, one of the two Representatives for Grimsby, mentioned them without Circumlocution. Lord North, as well as Sir Grey Cooper and Robinson, the two Secretaries of the Treasury, having declared that they had not named or recommended any Individual for a Share in the Loan recently negotiated; Harrison observed, that he gave them Credit for the Truth of their Assertion. "But," continued he, "I entertain too good an Opinion of the
" Gratitude of the Gentlemen who have con-
" tracted for the whole of the Loan, not to
" suppose that they will anticipate the noble
" Lord's Wishes, by giving to such Members
" of this House as may desire it, a sufficient
" Share of it to retain them steadily in that
" List, which by way of Pre-Eminence is
" denominated by the honourable Appella-
" tion of *the King's Friends*. An Appella-
" tion no doubt given, in Order to distin-
" guish them from the factious Individuals
" who have uniformly resisted the salutary
" Measures of His Majesty's Ministers,
" which have brought the Country into its
" present envied Situation!" No Notice was taken of Harrison's Allusion, by any Member of Administration. As this Body of

Men grew up and encreased with the Progress of the American War, so with its Termination, they seemed to become extinct. After Pitt's Victory over "the Coalition," and the Convocation of a new Parliament in 1784, the *King's Friends* were found in every Part of the House of Commons. But, it was not so in 1781, under Lord North, when Jenkinson and Rigby were supposed, however erroneously, to be often more in the real Secret of the Crown, than the first Minister himself. A very select Party usually adjourned to the Pay Office, after late Evenings in the House of Commons, where the good Cheer and the Claret, obliterated all painful Recollections connected with public Affairs.

The Post of Treasurer of the Navy was held by Mr. Welbore Ellis, whom we have since seen, after ostensibly filling the Office of Colonial Secretary of State, for a few Weeks, on the Resignation of Lord George Germain; and after occupying during several Years a distinguished Place in the Ranks of Opposition; raised in the Winter of Life, by Mr. Pitt, like so many other Individuals, to the Dignity of a British Peer. He might be

considered as the *Nestor* of the Ministry, and of the House of Commons. In his Figure, Manner, and Deportment, the very Essence of Form, he regularly took his Place on the Treasury Bench, dressed in all Points as if he had been going to the Drawing-room at St. James's. His Eloquence was of the same Description as himself, precise, grave, and constrained; unilluminated by Taste, and calculated to convince, more than to exhilarate or electrify his Audience. The Respect due to his Age, Character, and Employment, rather than the Force or Novelty of his Arguments, commonly secured him a patient Hearing; but he was neither listened to with Enthusiasm, nor regretted, when he ceased actively to exert his Abilities in Support of the Measures of Administration.

The Attorney General, Wallace, as well as Mansfield, Solicitor General, were men of acknowledged Talents, Parliamentary, no less than Professional. The latter manifested great Energies of Mind and Character. But, it might be esteemed in some degree their Misfortune, that having recently succeeded two Persons so eminent as Thurlow and Wedderburn, the House could not avoid

judging of them more by Comparison with their Predecessors, than by their own intrinsic Merit. Both the Attorney and Solicitor General were moreover obscured in the superior intellectual Powers, that characterized Mr. Dundas, then Lord Advocate of Scotland, and since created Viscount Melville. His Figure, tall, manly, and advantageous; his Countenance, open, cheerful, and pleasingly expressive, though tinged with convivial Purple, prejudiced in his Favor. Neither the Scotticisms with which his Speeches abounded, nor an Accent peculiarly Northern, as well as uncouth, could prevent his assuming and maintaining that conspicuous Place in the Ministerial Ranks, to which his pre-eminent Parts entitled him. These very Defects of Elocution or of Diction, by the ludicrous Effect that they produced, became often converted into Advantages; as they unavoidably operated to force a Smile from his bitterest Opponents, and checquered with momentary good Humor, the Personalities of Debate. The apparent Frankness of his Manner, which formed a striking Contrast with Jenkinson's guarded Reserve; conciliated or disarmed in some Measure those, whose political Opinions were most adverse

to Government. Never did any Man conceal deeper Views of every Kind, under the Appearance of careless Inattention to Self-interest. In him was exemplified the Remark, that "*Ars est celare Artem*;" and the seeming Want of Caution or Artifice in his ordinary Intercourse, capacitated him for contending successfully with Men of more habitual Self-command. His Voice, strong, clear, and sonorous, enabled him to surmount the Noise of a popular Assembly, and almost to enforce Attention, at Moments of the greatest Clamor or Impatience. Far from shunning the Post of Danger, he always seemed to court it; and was never deterred from stepping forward to the Assistance of Ministers, by the Violence of Opposition, by the Unpopularity of the Measure to be defended, or by the Difficulty of the Attempt.

His Speeches, able, animated, and argumentative, were delivered without Hesitation, and unembarrassed by any Timidity. If they displayed no Ornaments of Style, and no Beauties of Composition, it was impossible to accuse them of any Deficiency in sterling Sense, or in solid Ability. He was indeed, without excepting Lord George Ger-

main himself, the most powerful Auxiliary whom Lord North could boast of possessing in the Lower House. Though elevated in the Trammels of Scotch Jurisprudence, and long accustomed to plead at the Bar of that Country; his Mind, which disdained so confined a Sphere of Action, propelled him to try his Force on a greater Theatre. Animated by this Resolution, he quitted the Study of Law, for the Career of Politics; and in Defiance of every Impediment, abandoning the *Court of Session*, ventured to seek Fortune in an English House of Commons. Conscious of his own intellectual Superiority, and guided by a profound, but well-regulated Ambition, he already aspired to Offices and Situations, seemingly beyond the Pale of his legal Profession. India, he thought, and wisely thought, opened to him a Field worthy of his Talents; and the State of Danger, as well as of Disorder, into which those extensive Dominions had been thrown, by the Mismanagement or Incapacity of the East-India Company's Servants, particularly on the Coast of Coromandel, necessarily brought their Affairs under Parliamentary Discussion. The Occasion appeared favorable, and he availed himself of it with prompt

Decision. Placed, as he was soon afterwards, at the Head of a Secret Committee, appointed to enquire into the Causes of the War existing in the Carnatic; he there laid the Foundation of the Power which we have since seen him exercise as a Minister of that Department, under the Administration of Mr. Pitt, during many successive Years. Expensive from natural Character, by no means averse to Pleasure, or insensible to female Charms; always blending Conviviality in some Measure with Business, and regardless of Money, except as constituting the Source of Enjoyment; he never failed to form one of the festive Party which met at the Pay Office. Closely connected in Politics, no less than by Habits of Life and private Friendship, with Rigby; they might be said to act indeed in secret Unison, and to lend each other a mutual Assistance on every Occasion.

The two Secretaries of the Treasury occupied a very different Place in the Scale of Ministerial, or rather, of Parliamentary Importance, under Lord North's Administration. Sir Grey Cooper, with the single Exception of the Cornish Boroughs in the In-

terest of the Crown, and the Revenues of the Duchy itself, both which were entrusted to his Superintendence during the Minority of the Prince of Wales ; was confined to the mere official Duties of his Post. But, Robinson might be considered as one of the most active and essential Functionaries of the Executive Government. I knew him intimately, both in, and out of Office. A Native of the County of Westmoreland, and descended from an ancient Family of Highland Origin ; though unadorned with any Accomplishments of Education, or Advantages of Address, he nevertheless displayed many Qualifications that fitted him admirably for his Situation. His Person was coarse, inelegant, and somewhat inclined to Corpulency : but he possessed solid Judgment, and Suavity of Temper, combined with plain, unaffected, and conciliating Manners ; was capable of great Application, as well as of steady Friendship, and by no means wanted Decision of Character.

On him devolved that delicate and most important Department, then known by the Denomination of *The Management of the House of Commons* : a Branch of Adminis-

tration, or rather, of secret Service, unfortunately interwoven with, and inseparable from, the Genius of the British Constitution; perhaps, of every Form of Government in which Democracy, or popular Representation, makes an essential part. Towards the Close of an unfortunate War, when the Ministry was threatened with annual, or almost monthly Dissolution, and when a numerous Opposition acquired Strength, in Proportion to the national Misfortunes; this Management required unceasing Vigilance. Robinson was the Depository of the “*Livre rouge*,” where were supposed, or asserted to be contained, the Names of those Members of one, if not of both Houses of Parliament, who were retained by, and devoted to, the Administration. But, it was not only in the secret Arrangements of official Business, that he manifested Dexterity and Energy. He more than once exercised with equal Ability and Effect, as I know, the Functions of higher Officers of State. It was he, who, on the Refusal of Lord Weymouth, then Secretary for the Southern Department; counter-signed the Secret Orders, which were sent out to Madras, over land, on the 14th of April, 1778, by the Chairman and Deputy

Chairman of the East India Company, authorizing the immediate Attack of Pondicherry. To the manly Decision of this timely Measure, which is not the less true, because it may appear improbable, or because venal and ignorant Reviewers have declared it “a perfect Impossibility ;”—a Measure embraced by Lord North at a Moment when the War with France, though inevitable and impending, was not actually commenced ; we owed the Capture of that important Settlement, the chief Establishment of the Enemy on the Coromandel Coast, which gave us an Ascendant over the French, during the whole future Course of Hostilities in India.

After having surveyed the Members of the Cabinet, and the principal parliamentary Characters on the ministerial Side of the House of Commons, it is natural to proceed to the great Individuals who composed the Opposition in that Assembly. Mr. Fox, from the Union of Birth, Connexions, Talents, and Eloquence, which met in his Person, had become, in the Beginning of 1781, confessedly, without any Competitor, their Leader. Having attained his thirty-second Year, he consequently united all the Ardor

of Youth, to the Experience acquired in maturer Life. It was impossible to contemplate the Lineaments of his Countenance, without instantly perceiving the indelible Marks of Genius. His Features, in themselves dark, harsh, and saturnine, like those of Charles the Second, from whom he descended in the maternal Line ; derived nevertheless a Sort of Majesty, from the Addition of two black and shaggy Eye-brows, which sometimes concealed, but more frequently developed, the Workings of his Mind. Even these Features, however seemingly repulsive, yet did not readily assume the Expression of Anger, or of Enmity ; whereas they frequently, and as it were naturally, relaxed into a Smile, the Effect of which became irresistible, because it appeared to be the Index of a benevolent and complacent Disposition. His Figure, broad, heavy, and inclined to Corpulency, appeared destitute of all Elegance or Grace, except the Portion conferred on it by the Emanations of Intellect, which at times diffused over his whole Person, when he was speaking, the most impassioned Animation. In his Dress, which had constituted an Object of his Attention, earlier in Life, he had then become negligent

to a Degree not altogether excusable in a Man, whose very Errors or Defects produced Admirers and Imitators. At five and twenty I have seen him apparrelled *en petit Maitre*, with a Hat and Feather, even in the House of Commons; but in 1781, he constantly, or at least usually, wore in that Assembly, a blue frock Coat, and a buff Waistcoat, neither of which seemed in general new, and sometimes appeared to be threadbare. Nor ought it to be forgotten that these Colours, like the *White Rose* formerly worn by the Adherents of the Family of *Stuart*, or the *Corsican Violet* of more modern Times, then constituted the distinguishing Badge or Uniform of Washington and the American Insurgents. In this Dress he always took his Seat, not upon the front Opposition Bench, but, on the third Row behind, close to that Pillar supporting the Gallery, which is nearest to the Speaker's Chair. It was not till 1782, or rather till the Beginning of 1783, that, with Lord North by his Side, he first began to sit on the Opposition Bench, technically so denominated in ordinary Language. I am sensible that these minute Particulars are in themselves unimportant, but they nevertheless approximate

and identify the Object. And that Object is Mr. Fox.

His paternal Descent was by no Means illustrious, nor was the Elevation of his Family sufficiently ancient, to shed over it that species of genealogical Respect, only to be derived from the Lapse of Time. *Collins*, indeed, very equivocally observes in his "Peerage," when treating of the *Barony of Holland*, that "there were *Foxes* in England "before the Norman Conquest." But, I have always understood that his Grandfather, who rose by his Abilities to considerable Eminence, and was knighted by the name of Sir Stephen Fox, as well as raised to the Dignity of a Privy Councillor; had been a Chorister Boy in the Cathedral of Salisbury, when in 1651 he accompanied Lord Wilmot to France, after the Defeat of Charles the Second at the Battle of Worcester. It has been maintained, and I have heard it asserted, that their Names were originally Palafox; that they formed a Branch of that noble Arragonese Family, so distinguished in the present Age, by the glorious Defence of Sarragossa; and that they first came into this Country in 1588, when one of the Spa-

nish Armada being stranded on our Coast, the Survivors, among whom was a Palafox, settled in England. I have however always regarded this Story as a mere Fable. Sir Stephen Fox, towards the End of a long Life, during which he made great Advances to Honors and Dignities, having married, became at seventy-five Years of Age, the Father of two Sons born at the same Birth. These Twins were both in process of Time elevated to the Peerage; a Fact which had antecedently been realized to a certain Degree, in the *Cecil*, as well as in the *Herbert* Family, under James the First. Charles the First again exhibited it in the House of *Rich*; and we have since seen it exemplified in the Families of *Walpole*, of *Percy*, of *Hood*, of *Wellesley*, and various others.

While the elder Son of Sir Stephen Fox was created Earl of Ilchester, by George the Second; the youngest, Henry, acquired a Barony in the Beginning of the present Reign, by the Title of Lord Holland. He was unquestionably a Man of very eminent Attainments, possessing a classic Mind, cultivated by Study, adorned by Travel, and illuminated by a Taste for Poetry, as well as all the elegant Arts. But, he is better

known in the political History of the late Reign, where he performed a principal Part in the ministerial Ranks, no less than in the parliamentary Annals, till he sunk under the superior Ascendant; sustained by the irresistible Eloquence, of the first Earl of Chatham, as Antony's Genius is said to have been rebuked under that of Augustus: Of immeasurable Ambition, and equally insatiable of Wealth, Lord Holland was enabled, by possessing the lucrative Post of Paymaster of the Forces, which he held during several Years in Time of War, and subsequent to the Peace of Fontainbleau down to 1765, to accumulate an immense Fortune. It was not however attained without great Unpopularity and Obloquy, which accompanied him to the Grave; and exposed him to much, perhaps to unmerited, Abuse or Accusation. His moral Character did not indeed stand as high in the national Estimation, either in a public, or in a private Point of View, as did his Abilities. But he cemented the Greatness of his Family, by allying himself in Marriage with the ducal House of Lenox.

Of his three Sons, Lord Holland early perceived the extraordinary Talents which

Nature had conferred on the second ; and in the fond Anticipation of that Son's future political Elevation, exhausted on his Education, every Effort which might expand or mature his opening Capacity. But, he adopted a vicious and dangerous Principle, in ordering that the Boy should neither be contradicted nor punished; for almost any Acts in his Power to commit, of puerile Misconduct or Indiscretion. " Let nothing be " done to break his Spirit," said Lord Holland ; " the World will effect that Business " soon enough." When he made the Tour of France and Italy, he was accompanied by a Gentleman of eminent Parts, Mr. George Macartney ; who afterwards, towards the Close of a Life passed in the public Service, attained, himself, in his own Person, to the Peerage. We may see in the Letters of Madame du Deffand to Horace Walpole, the Species of Impression which Mr. Fox's Endowments, and the Sallies of his juvenile Impetuosity, made on the Minds of the Parisians. They seem to have considered him as a Sort of Phænomenon, which dazzled and astonished, more than it pleased or delighted them. Before he attained fully to the Age at which he could constitutionally

vote, though he might speak, in Parliament, his Father procured him a Seat in the House of Commons ; and his Talents, aided by his Connexions, placed him towards the Close of 1772, on the ministerial Bench, as a Member of the Board of Treasury. He occupied the Situation about two Years.

This early Association to Lord North's Administration, might nevertheless be considered as an unfortunate Circumstance in its Results, since it involved him in the Unpopularity attached to various Measures then adopted by the Government, which subsequently led to a Rupture with America. That even previous to his Attainment or Acceptance of Office, he was regarded by the Enemies of Administration, as a devoted Partizan of Ministry, in training for future desperate Service, is evident from the Manner in which "Junius" speaks of him. Writing to the Duke of Grafton, in June, 1771, he says,—“In vain would he (the King) have looked round him for another Character so consummate as yours. Lord Mansfield shrinks from his Principles. His Ideas of Government perhaps go farther than your own, but his Heart dis-

“graces the Theory of his Understanding.—
“*Charles Fox is yet in Blossom*; and as for
“Mr. Wedderburn, there is something about
“him, which even Treachery cannot trust.”
These ministerial Fetters did not however
long detain him in parliamentary Bondage.
The sarcastic Mode of Expression chosen
by Lord North, to communicate Mr. Fox’s
Dismissal from the Treasury Board, is well
known. “His Majesty,” observed the first
Minister to some Persons near him, “has
“named new Commissioners of the Trea-
“sury, among whom I do not see the Name
“of the Hon. Charles James Fox.” From
that Period, having inlisted under the Ban-
ners of Opposition, and being aided by the
Errors or Misfortunes of the American War,
he attained in the Course of about six Years,
to the highest Eminence among the formid-
able Body of Men who then opposed the
Measures of the Crown.

Pleasures of every Description, to which
his Constitution or Inclinations impelled
him, divided however with political Pur-
suits, the early Portion of his Life; some of
which, if Fame reported truly, might have
furnished Matter for a new “Atalantis.” It

may be curious nevertheless, for those Persons who only remember Him either as a leading Member of the Minority, or in Office as Minister, to contemplate Mr. Fox when at the Head of the *Ton*, who were then denominated "Macaronis." The Author of the "Heroic Epistle to Sir William Chambers," published, I believe, early in 1773; which Production is commonly, though perhaps erroneously, attributed to *Mason*; describes or produces Fox under that Character. After enumerating with vast Felicity of Humor and Satire, the Asiatic Divisions supposed to be exhibited for the Amusement of the British Sovereign, he thus concludes; I cite by Memory:

" But hark! The Shouts of Battle sound from far!
The Jews and Macaronis are at War.
The Jews prevail, and thund'ring from the Stocks,
They seize, they bind, they circumcise Charles Fox.
Fair Schwellenbergen smiles the Sport to see,
And all the Maids of Honor cry Te he."

Neither the Pleasures of refined, nor of licentious Love, nor the social Conviviality of the Table, although he might occasionally indulge in each of those Gratifications, constituted however his predominant Passion:

All his Inclinations, from a very early Age, seemed to be concentrated in a more fatal Attachment to Play. In the Prosecution of that Propensity, he had squandered prodigious Sums before his Father's Decease, with which Lord Holland's paternal Fondness furnished him. To the same Pursuit, or rather Rage, he subsequently sacrificed a sinecure Place of two thousand Pounds a Year for Life, the Clerkship of the Pells in Ireland; of which he came into Possession by the Demise of his elder Brother, Stephen, the second Lord Holland, in December, 1774. After holding it scarcely ten Months, he sold it to Mr. Charles Jenkinson, since better known as Earl of Liverpool. He disposed in a similar Manner, of a fine Estate and a magnificent House, situated at Kingsgate in the Isle of Thanet, which Lord Holland had embellished with classic Taste, at an Expense that could only have been furnished by a Paymaster of the Forces. On a bleak Promontory, the North Foreland, projecting into the German Ocean, destitute of a single Tree, and perpetually swept by the East Winds, that Nobleman constructed a splendid Villa, worthy of Lucullus. A Colonnade, such as Ictinus might have raised

by Order of Pericles, extended in Front of the Edifice; but, which has since been demolished. This superb Retreat, in Consequence of Fox's Infatuation to the Gaming Table, speedily passed into the Possession of *Powell*, who had been Cashier in the Paymaster General's Office under Lord Holland, and who subsequently finished so tragically his Career. The Office of Clerk of the Pells had been procured for Mr. Fox, as the Estate at Kingsgate had been bequeathed to Him, by his Father. We must confess that these scandalous Irregularities of Conduct, or rather Vices of Character, remind us more of Timon and of Alcibiades, than of Pericles or Demosthenes.

Fox was not one of those Dupes who never understand the Principles of any Game. On the contrary he played admirably both at Whist, and at Picquet; with such Skill indeed, that by the general Admission of Brookes's Club, he might have made four thousand Pounds a year, as they calculated, at those Games, if he would have confined himself to them. But, his Misfortune arose from playing at Games of Chance, particularly at Faro. After eating

and drinking plentifully, he sat down to the Faro Table, and inevitably rose a Loser. Once indeed, and only once, he won about eight thousand Pounds in the course of a single Evening. Part of the Money he paid away to his Creditors, and the Remainder he lost again almost immediately, in the same Manner. The late Mr. Boothby, so well known during many Years in the first Walks of Fashion and Dissipation; himself an ir reclaimable Gamester, and an intimate Friend of Fox; yet appreciated him with much Severity, though with equal Truth. " Charles," observed he, " is unquestionably a Man of " first-rate Talents, but, so deficient in Judgment, as never to have succeeded in any " Object during his whole Life. He loved " only three Things; Women, Play, and " Politics. Yet, at no Period, did he ever " form a creditable Connexion with a Woman. He lost his whole Fortune at the " Gaming-table; and with the Exception of " about eleven Months of his Life, he has " remained always in Opposition." It is difficult to dispute the Justice of this Portrait. Perhaps we might add to Boothby's Picture, that towards the Close of his Career, Fox emulated the Distinction of an

Historian ; in the Pursuit of which Object he made laborious Efforts, and with a View to facilitate or to attain it, he appears principally to have undertaken his Journey to Paris in 1802. Whether he succeeded better than in the former Attempts, Posterity will determine : but he would certainly have attained a more elevated Place in the Temple of History, by imitating the Line of Xenophon or of Sallust in Antiquity, who commemorated the Transactions of their own Times, than by taking for his Subject, the Reign of James the Second.

The first Lord Holland died when his Son Charles was about twenty-four ; and before he attained his thirtieth Year, he had completely dissipated every Shilling that he could either command, or could procure by the most ruinous Expedients. He had even undergone at Times, many of the severest Privations annexed to the Vicissitudes that mark a Gamester's Progress ; frequently wanting Money to defray his common diurnal Wants of the most pressing Nature. Topham Beauclerk, a man of high Birth, of Pleasure, and of Letters, who lived much in Fox's Society at that Period of his Life ;

used to affirm, that no Person could form an Idea of the Extremities to which he had been driven in order to raise Money, after losing his last Guinea at the Faro Table. He has been reduced for successive Days, to such Distress, as to be under a Necessity of having Recourse to the Waiters of *Brookes's* Club, to lend him Assistance. The very Chairmen whom he was unable to pay, used to dun him for their Arrears. All Dignity of Character, and Independence of Mind, must have been lost amidst these Scenes of ruinous Dissipation. In 1781, he might however be considered as an extinct Vulcano ;—for, the pecuniary Aliment that had fed the Flame, was long consumed. He never indeed affected or attempted to conceal the State of Poverty, into which his Passion for Play had plunged him. Even on his Legs in the House of Commons, I have heard him frequently allude to it. When Lord Holland, his Father's Accounts, as Paymaster of the Forces, were brought in some Measure before the View of Parliament, during the Session of 1781; Fox observed, that as one of the Executors of that deceased Nobleman, he lamented the Inability under which his Nephew lay to make any Transfer of Pro-

perty, while those Accounts remained unsettled. “ *Perhaps,*” added he, “ *I have not, myself, any more Estates to sell ;* but I “ nevertheless feel for the Persons who have “ purchased of me the landed Property be- “ queathed me under my Father’s Will ; the “ Titles to which must always remain in a “ certain Degree precarious, while his Exe- “ cutors have not obtained a Quietus from “ the Exchequer.”

Only a few Days later in the same Session, on the 12th of June, 1781, Lord George Germain having asserted in the Course of his Speech, that “ Ministers had “ some Property to lose, as well as the Gen- “ tlemen on the other Side of the House ; “ and in ruining their Country, as they were “ accused of doing, they must involve them- “ selves personally in Destruction,” Fox answered, “ *It is well known that I have no “ Stake to lose ;* but, that Circumstance will “ not abate my Zeal for the public Welfare.” Rigby, who probably began already to foresee the Termination of Lord North’s Administration as rapidly approaching, if not imminent, paid Fox many Compliments on the Occasion. “ The Honorable Gentleman,”

said Rigby, “ represents himself as an insignificant Person, possessing no Property, and having no Stake in the Country. No Man, in my Opinion, possesses a more important Stake. His Talents, his Connections, and his Prospects, constitute a far more valuable Possession, than a Rent Roll of many Thousands. He is an Honor to his Country, which feels a corresponding public Interest in him.” These flattering Expressions, though received by Fox with Urbanity, he did not the less disclaim in his Reply; adding, “ that he could not accept any Testimonies of good Will shewn to himself, which were accompanied with Censures on his Friends.” At the Time of which I speak, Fox occupied a House or Lodgings in St. James’s Street, close to the Club at *Brookes’s*, where he passed almost every Hour which was not devoted to the House of Commons; and during Lord North’s Administration, Parliament usually remained sitting, with short Adjournments, from November till July. That Club might then be considered as the rallying Point and Rendezvous of the Opposition; where, while Faro, Whist, and Suppers prolonged the Night, the principal Members of the Mino-

riety in both Houses met, in order to compare their Information, or to concert and mature their parliamentary Measures.

It must not however be imagined that either Fox, or the Club that he frequented, could altogether escape some severe Animadversions, on the Part of Men who contemplated both the one and the other, as Objects of moral Censure and Reprobation. I recollect that during the Session of 1781, Mansfield, then Solicitor General, having brought a Bill into the House of Commons, for the Prevention of certain Abuses practised on the Sunday; Martin, Member for Tewksbury, one of the most conscientious and honest Men who ever sate in Parliament, while he highly commended it, expressed his Concern that “ the Gaming Houses, “ which were open every Sunday, in the immediate Vicinity of St. James’s Palace, “ had not attracted the Notice of the learned “ Framer of the Bill.” He went on to say that “ he was astonished how Men who “ passed their whole Time in a continued “ Round of Offence to Morality, could reconcile it to their Consciences, to come “ down to that Assembly, and there make

“ Laws for the Suppression of similar, or
“ even smaller Violations of Decency among
“ their Inferiors in Rank and Fortune.” No
Notice whatever being taken of these Remarks, Martin, in a subsequent Stage of the Bill, spoke out in still bolder Language when Fox was present. He called on the Solicitor General to answer, why those abominable Nurseries of Gambling in St. James’s Street, were not suppressed? “ They are,” continued he, “ the Bane of our young Men
“ of Rank, who becoming first necessitous,
“ lye open to the Seductions of a Minister,
“ whose pernicious Measures can only be
“ sustained by Corruption.” Then designating Fox in Colours too accurate to be mistaken, he admitted that there might be some shining Exceptions to this Depravity. “ But,” added he, “ if there are any Individuals of pre-eminent Abilities in this
“ House, who might be the Scourge and the
“ Terror of any bad Administration, I trust
“ that the learned Gentleman, who is himself
“ a Representative of one of the two Universities, will exert his best Endeavours to extinguish so crying and so destructive an Evil.”
“ These Sentiments were re-echoed, though in less pointed Terms, from other Part

of the House. In Answer, the Solicitor General observed, that “no Country in Europe
“ could boast of better Laws against Gam-
“ ing, than were to be found in our Statute
“ Books; but, that if Men of Rank and
“ Distinction were determined to commit
“ Crimes which from their Nature must be
“ perpetrated in private, no Law could tho-
“ roughly reach the Evil.” Fox making no
Reply, though the Allusions to himself were palpable, Sheridan rose, and with great Address turned aside the Weapon, of which he could not altogether blunt the Point. Unwilling to offend Martin, who generally voted with Opposition, Sheridan directed his Attack against the Administration. “I trust,” said he, “that the learned Gentleman who
“ presents himself to the House on this Day,
“ in the double Capacity of a *Cato* and a
“ *Petronius*, at once the *Censor Morum* and
“ the *Arbiter Elegantiarum* of the Age; will
“ turn his Attention towards the Suppression
“ of a Species of Gaming more destructive
“ to Morals than any other, and which is
“ nevertheless patronized by the Legislature.
“ I mean, Lotteries, which by suspending
“ all the Pursuits of Industry, introduce
“ among the lower Orders of People, every

“ Species of Depravity. This would be indeed an Object worthy of his Exertion.” Mansfield was in his Turn silent, and the Debate took a new Turn. Unquestionably, the Club at *White's*, as well as at *Brookes's*, was designated by Martin, when he denounced the Evil itself, as he spoke in the plural Number. But, no Member of the Cabinet being accused of a Passion for the Gaming-table, though more than one among them frequented *White's*, the Blow fell heavily on Fox, Fitzpatrick, Burgoyne, and their Associates, while it scarcely glanced on Ministers.

Nature, besides the extraordinary Endowments of Mind which she conferred on Fox, had given him likewise a Constitution originally capable of prodigious Exertion. But he had already impaired his bodily Powers, by every Variety of Excess, added to the most violent mental Agitations. These Acts of Imprudence had produced their inevitable Consequences, though for some Time counteracted by Youth, or obviated by medical Aid. As early as 1781, Mr. Fox was already attacked with frequent Complaints of the Stomach and Bowels, attended by acute

Pain; to moderate the Symptoms of which, he usually had Recourse to Laudanum. The strongest Frame must indeed have sunk under such physical and moral Exhausture, if he had allowed himself no Interval of Relaxation or Repose. But, happily, his Passion for some of the Amusements and Sports of the Country, almost rivalled his Attachment to the Gaming-table. No sooner had the shooting Season commenced, than he constantly repaired to Norfolk. Lord Robert Spencer generally accompanied him; and after visiting various Friends, they sometimes hired a small House in the Town of Thetford, rose at an early Hour, and passed the whole Day with a Fowling-piece in their Hands, among Coveys of Partridges and Pheasants, for successive Weeks, during the Autumn. These salutary Occupations never failed of restoring the Health that he had lost in St. James's Street, and in the House of Commons.

Nor did the Rage for Play ever engross his whole Mind, or wholly absorb his Faculties. Nature had implanted in his Bosom many elevated Inclinations, which, though overpowered and oppressed for a Time, yet,

as he advanced in Life, continually acquired Strength. If Ambition formed the first, the Love of Letters constituted the second, of these Passions. When he contemplated the Extent of his own Parliamentary Talents, and compared them with those of Lord North, or of every other Individual in either House; it was impossible for him not to perceive the moral Certainty of his attaining by Perseverance, in the Course of a few Years, almost any public Situation to which he might aspire. In the Possession and Enjoyment of Power, he necessarily anticipated the Recovery of that Independence which he had sacrificed at the Gaming-table; as well as the Means of recompensing the zealous Friendship or Devotion of his numerous Adherents.

No Man in public Life, ever possessed more determined Friends, or exercised over them a more unbounded Influence; though he was by no Means as tractable and amenable to Reason, or to Entreaty, on many Occasions, as the apparent Suavity of his Disposition seemed to indicate. Even Interest could not always bend him to a Compliance with the Dictates of his Judgment,

nor Expostulation induce him to pay the most ordinary Attention to Persons who had materially served him. In 1784, at the Election of a Member for Westminster, which was very obstinately contested; Horace Walpole, afterwards Earl of Orford, whose Age and delicate Health prevented him from almost ever leaving his own House; yet submitted to be carried in a Sedan Chair, from Berkley Square, to the Hustings in Covent-Garden, to vote for him. But, no Remonstrances could prevail on Fox to leave his Name at Mr. Walpole's Door, though he passed it continually in his Morning Walks. *Hare* himself, who was one of his most favoured Associates, vainly exerted every Effort to make him say a few civil Words to a Lady of Quality; the late Mrs. Hobart, afterwards Albinia, Countess of Buckinghamshire; by whom he was seated at Supper in a great public Company, met at Mrs. Crewe's expressly to celebrate the Success of his Election: a Success, to which that Lady, as he knew, had contributed by every Means in her Power; and who, as her Reward, only aspired to attract his Notice or Attention for a few Minutes. He turned his Back on her, and would not utter a Syllable. Hurt at

Fox's Neglect, *Hare*, who sat nearly opposite to him, and who was accustomed to treat him with the utmost Freedom; took out a Pencil, wrote three Lines, and pushed the Paper across the Table to his Friend. The Lines I shall not transcribe, as they were too energetic, or rather, coarse, to allow of their Insertion: but, they adjured Fox, (in Language as strong as Mæcenas used to Augustus, when he wrote to the Emperor, "*Siste tandem, Carnifex!*") to turn himself round towards the Lady in Question. He calmly perused the Billet, and then, having torn it in small Pieces, which he placed on the Table; without appearing to pay any Attention to *Hare*, he turned his Back, if possible, still more decidedly on the Person, in whose Behalf the Expostulation was written. These Facts were related to me by a Nobleman, a Friend of Fox, who was present on the Occasion.

If ever an Individual existed in this Country, who from his natural Bias, would have inclined to maintain in their fullest Extent, all the just Prerogatives of the Crown; and who would have restrained within due Limits, every Attempt on the Part of the

People, to diminish its Constitutional Influence; we may assert that Fox was the Man. The Principles of his early Education; the Example and Exhortations of his Father, for whom he always preserved an affectionate Reverence, which constituted a most pleasing Feature of his Character; his first political Connexions;—all led him to the Foot of the Throne. He had tasted the Comforts of Office under Lord North, and his very Wants rendered indispensable to him a Return to Power. Nor, whatever moral Disapprobation his private Irregularities unquestionably excited in the Breast of a Sovereign, whose whole Life was exempt from any Breach of Decency or Decorum; could those Defects of Conduct have formed any insurmountable Impediment to his Attainment of the highest Employments. In Point of Fact, neither the Duke of Grafton, whom “Junius” stigmatizes as “a Libertine by Profession;” nor the Earls of Rochford and Sandwich, nor Lord Weymouth, nor Lord Barrington, nor Lord Thurlow, had been distinguished by Sanctity of Manners, though they had all occupied the first Situations in the State. Sir Francis Dashwood, who afterwards became premier Baron of England,

under the Title of Lord Le Despenser ; and whom Lord Bute made Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1762, for his Skill, as Wilkes asserts, in casting up Tavern Bills ; far exceeded in Licentiousness of Conduct, any Model exhibited since Charles the Second. He had founded a Club or Society, towards the End of George the Second's Reign, denominated from his own Name, " the Franciscans," who, to the Number of twelve, met at Medmenham Abbey, near Marlow in Bucks, on the Banks of the Thames. Wilkes was a Member of this unholy Fraternity, of which he makes mention in his Letter to Earl Temple, written from Bagshot, in September, 1762. Rites, of a nature so subversive of all Decency, and calculated, by an Imitation of the Ceremonies and Mysteries of the Roman Catholic Church, to render Religion itself an Object of Contumely ; were there celebrated, as cannot be reflected on without Astonishment and Reprobation. Sir Francis himself sometimes officiated as High Priest, habited in the Dress of a Franciscan Monk ; engaged in pouring a Libation from a Communion-cup, to the mysterious Object of their Homage. Churchill, in his Poem of " The Candidate," has drawn him under

this Character, at Medmenham: but I cannot prevail on myself to cite the Passage. Immorality or even Profligacy, abstractedly considered, formed therefore, it is evident, no insurmountable Bar to Employment under George the Third.

Fox's Error arose, if not wholly, yet principally, from a different Source. In the Ardor of political Opposition, stimulated perhaps by domestic Wants of many Kinds, finding himself so long excluded from Office, and conscious that he was become personally obnoxious to the Sovereign, not so much from his Irregularities, as by embracing the Cause and the Defence of the King's revolted Subjects beyond the Atlantic; Fox did not always confine himself within a constitutional and temperate Resistance to the Measures of the Crown. Mingling the Spirit of Faction, with the Principles of Party; while he appeared only to attack the Minister, he levelled many of his severest Insinuations or Accusations at the King. He consequently obstructed the Attainment of the Object, which lay within his Grasp. As the American War drew towards its Termination, he observed scarce-

ly any Measure in the Condemnation which he expressed for the Authors of the Contest.

When the new Parliament met on the first Day of November, 1780, and it was proposed in the Address to the Throne, that the House of Commons should acknowledge, “the sole Objects of the King’s royal Care and Concern, were to promote the Happiness of his People;”—Words merely complimentary; Fox rising in his Place, exclaimed,—“We are called on to recognize the Blessings of his Majesty’s Reign. I cannot concur in such a Vote, for I am not acquainted with those Blessings. The present Reign offers one uninterrupted Series of Disgrace, Misfortune, and Calamity!” Only a few Weeks afterwards, in January, 1781, when the Debate on the Dutch War took place,—“The Reign of Charles the Second,” observed Mr. Fox, “who twice engaged in Hostilities with Holland, has been denominated an infamous Reign: but, the Evils inflicted on this Country by the *Stuarts*, were happily retrieved by a Revolution: while the Ills of the present Reign admit of no Redress.” He even proceeded to draw a Sort of Paral-

lel, or rather Contrast, of the most invidious Description, between Catherine the Second, and George the Third; two Sovereigns who having ascended the Thrones of Russia and of Great Britain, nearly about the same Time, had exhibited an opposite Line of Conduct: the former Empire rising under Catherine, into Eminence; while England, governed by George, sunk into Contempt. I recollect that towards the Close of the same Session of Parliament, in June, 1781, during the Progress of a Debate which arose relative to the Payment into the Exchequer, of the Balances in the Hands of public Accountants; Fox, who was well aware of the Obloquy under which his Father, Lord Holland's Memory lay, as "the Defaulter of unaccounted Millions," entered largely and warmly into his Defence. The Evil, he said, resulted from that most unfortunate Circumstance of his Father's Life, his ever having been connected with Administration in the Commencement of the *present Reign*. "Such," continued Fox, "has uniformly "been the impenetrable Mystery, and the "Intricacy of Government, throughout this "unfortunate Reign; such has been the "dark, perplexed, and ambiguous System

“pursued by Ministers, that no Person who
“contemplates it, can pervade the Obscu-
“rity, or pierce the Clouds that invest their
“Measures. It is become impossible to dis-
“tinguish the *real*, from the *ostensible* Mi-
“nister. Hence the guilty Author of nefa-
“rious or ruinous Measures, escapes with-
“out Censure, while the Detestation and the
“Disgrace fall upon the innocent.” The
House was at no Loss to guess at whom
these Reflections were pointed.

-In November, 1779, he far exceeded in
Severity of Language even the foregoing
Remarks, when he did not hesitate to com-
pare Henry the Sixth, with His present
Majesty; and to assimilate their Characters,
Qualities, and the Disgraces of their re-
spective Reigns, as affording the most com-
plete Resemblance. “Both,” he observed,
“owed the Crown to Revolutions: both
“were pious Princes, and both lost the Ac-
“quisitions of their Predecessor.” The
Speeches of Fox, it must be owned, breath-
ed a very revolutionary Spirit, throughout
the whole Progress of the American War.
Smarting under such Reflections, the King
began to consider the Principles and the

Doctrines of Fox, as inseparably implicated with Rebellion. From that Instant, the Splendor of his Talents only enhanced the Magnitude of his Offence. His Uncle, the Duke of Richmond, who seemed to emulate the same Distinction, and who indulged himself in Remarks equally severe, on the supposed Interference of the Crown in perpetuating the Struggle, might find Pardon in the Mediocrity of his Abilities. But, Fox's Fault necessarily inspired deeper Feelings of Resentment, and may be said to have eminently contributed to the Misfortunes of his political Life.

Amidst the wildest Excesses of Youth, even while he was the perpetual Victim of his Passion for Play, his elegant Mind eagerly cultivated at Intervals, a Taste for Letters. His Education had made him early acquainted with the Writers of Greece and Rome, historical, as well as philosophical and poetical. The beautiful Passages of Virgil, Horace, Tacitus, Juvenal, and Cicero, which were familiar to him, seemed always to present themselves to his Memory without an Effort. When speaking in Parliament, he knew how to avail himself of their

Assistance, or to convert them to his Purpose, with a Promptitude and Facility that it is difficult to imagine. Burke himself was not his Superior on this Point. So well had he been grounded in classic Knowledge, that he could read the Greek, no less than the Roman Historians, as well as Poets, in the original; and however extraordinary the Fact may appear, he found Resources in the Perusal of their Works, under the most severe Depressions occasioned by ill Success at the Gaming-table. Topham Beauclerk, whom I have already had Occasion to mention, and who always maintained Habits of great Intimacy with Fox; quitted him one Morning, at six o'clock, after having passed the whole preceding Night together at Faro. Fortune had been most unfavourable to Fox, whom his Friend left in a Frame of Mind approaching to Desperation. Beauclerk's Anxiety respecting the Consequences which might ensue from such a State of Agitation, impelled him to be early at Fox's Lodgings; and on arriving, he enquired, not without Apprehension, whether he was risen. The Servant replying that Mr. Fox was in the Drawing-room, he walked up Stairs; and cautiously opening

the Door, where he expected to behold a frantic Gamester stretched on the Floor, bewailing his Misfortunes, or plunged in silent Despair; to his equal Astonishment and Satisfaction, Beauclerk discovered him intently engaged in reading a Greek Herodotus. “What would you have me do,” said he, “I have lost my last Shilling!” Such was the Elasticity, Suavity, and Equality of Disposition that characterized him; and with so little Effort did he pass from profligate Dissipation, to Researches of Taste or Literature. After staking and losing all that he could raise, at Faro; instead of exclaiming against Fortune, or manifesting the Agitation natural under such Circumstances, he has been known to lay his Head on the Table; and retaining his Place, but, extenuated by Fatigue of Mind and Body, almost immediately to fall into a profound Sleep.

Mr. Fox was not only conversant with the Works of Antiquity: modern History, polite Letters, and Poetry, were equally familiar to him. Few Individuals were better instructed in the Annals of their own Country. Having travelled when young, over

France and Italy, he had studied the finest Productions of those Countries, so fertile in Works of Genius, at the Fountain-head. Davila and Guicciardini, he read in the original. Danté, Ariosto, and Tasso, constituted the frequent Companions of his leisure Hours, whom he perused with Delight; and the striking Parts of which Authors, as he proceeded, he constantly marked with his own Hand. For the “Orlando Furioso,” one of the most eccentric, but, wonderful Productions of human Genius, I know that he expressed great Partiality; preferring it to the “Gierusalemme liberata.” Nor was he devoid, himself, of some Portion of poetic Talent, as many Compositions of his Pen which remain, sufficiently attest; though, for Ease, Delicacy, and playful Satire, he could not stand a Competition in that Branch of Accomplishment, with his Friend and Companion Colonel Fitzpatrick. The Verses, or Epigram, written on Gibbon’s accepting the Employment of a Lord of Trade, in 1779, beginning,

“ King George in a Fright,
Lest Gibbon should write
The Hist’ry of England’s Disgrace;

Thought no Way so sure
His Pen to secure,
As to give the Historian a Place ;”

I have always understood to be from Fox's Pen, though it is disowned by Lord Holland, as “ certainly not his Uncle's Composition.” I know however, that some Years afterwards, when his Effects in St. James's Street were seized for Debt, and his Books were sold ; a Set of Gibbon's “ Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,” in the first Leaf of which Work, Fox had with his own Hand inserted the Stanzas in Question ; produced a very considerable Sum, under the Belief or Conviction that he was their Author.

Fox conversed in French, nearly with the same Purity and Facility, as he did in English ; writing in that Language not less correctly, nor with less Elegance. A Man of his high Birth and Connexions, possessing Qualifications so rare, independent of his parliamentary Abilities, seemed to be pointed out by Nature, for the Superintendence of the foreign Department of State. Those Persons who anticipated the Fall of Lord North's Administration, already imagined that they beheld Mr. Fox in that Situation, for which

Talents and Education had evidently designed him. Yet, after contemplating the Portrait which I have here sketched, and which, I imagine, even his greatest Admirers, if they are candid, will admit to do him no Injustice; it is for impartial Posterity to determine, whether on full Examination of his Merits and Defects, George the Third may be considered as most deserving of Approbation or of Blame, in never having at any Period of his Reign, voluntarily called Mr. Fox to his Counsels. If Energy of Mind, Enlargement of Views, Firmness of Character, Amenity of Manners, Acquaintance with foreign Courts and Languages, Facility in conducting Business, and prodigious intellectual Powers, combining Eloquence, Application, as well as Discernment;—if these Endowments are considered as forming an incontestable Claim to public Employment, unsustained by correct moral Deportment, or by Property; we must condemn the Sentence of Exclusion passed upon him. Those Persons on the other Hand, who consider all Talent, however eminent, as radically defective, unless sustained by Decorum, and a Regard for Opinion;—as well as all who prefer Sobriety of Conduct, Regularity of Man-

ners, and the Virtues of private Life, above any Ability which Nature can bestow on Man ;—lastly, all who regard Judgment, under the Controul of strict Principle, as the most indispensable Requisite of a Minister, to whom the public Honor and Felicity are in some Measure necessarily entrusted ;—such Persons will probably hesitate before they decide too hastily, on the Degree of Censure or of Commendation, which the King's Conduct towards Fox, ought to excite in our Minds.

If Fox occupied the first Place in the Ranks of Opposition, Burke might be pronounced without Contest, the second Person in that powerful Body. His extraordinary Endowments of Mind, superseded every Defect of Birth, Fortune, Connexions, or Country ; and placed him on an Eminence, to which no Subject in my Time, unassisted by those Advantages, with the single Exception of Mr. Sheridan, has ever attained in the public Estimation. For, it may perhaps be justly questioned, whether the splendid Talents of the first Mr. Pitt, would have forced his Way into the Cabinet, unaided and unsustained by his Alliance with the Family

of Grenville, though his own paternal Descent was most honorable. Of Years much more advanced than Fox, Burke had already attained to the Acmé of his Fame as an Orator, and could not well augment the Reputation which he had acquired in that Capacity. Perhaps, if we were to point out the Period of his Life, when he stood on the highest Ground as a public Man, in the Estimation of all Parties, we should name the Year 1781. His recent Exertions in bringing forward the Bill for the Reform of the Civil List, which had engaged such general Attention in the last Session of the preceding Parliament, continued still fresh in Recollection. Whatever Opinion might be entertained respecting the Necessity, or the Eligibility, of those proposed Regulations in the royal Household; only one Sentiment pervaded the House and the Nation, on the unexampled Combination of Eloquence, Labor, and Perseverance, which had been displayed by their enlightened Author. They covered with Astonishment and Admiration, even those who from Principle or from Party, appeared most strenuous in opposing the Progress of the Bill itself, through every Stage. The very Rejection which had at-

tended many Clauses of it, and the Address with which others were finally evaded or eluded, had conduced to raise him in the national Opinion.

While however I do this Justice to his Talents and Intentions, it is impossible not to consider with very different Feelings, the splendid Eulogium which he made on that Occasion, of which *Necker* formed the Subject. Burke, in sublime and animated Language, described the System of public Credit adopted by Louis the Sixteenth, under the Guidance of his Genevese financial Minister; which he depicted as the Consummation of human Ability, Economy, and judicious Calculation. Neither Sully, nor Colbert, he said, could compete with Necker: while the Sovereign of France, unlike his Predecessors on the Throne, who had Recourse when in Distress, to the bold Frauds or Plunges of bankrupt Despotism, for raising pecuniary Supplies; built all his Plans on the firm Basis of national Confidence, sustained by pecuniary Regulations, calculated to pay the Interest of the Debt thus incurred. Such were the Arts and Assertions, by which George the Third, Lord North, and the

American War, became Objects of Reprobation! If Burke really believed the Facts that he laid down, what are we to think of his Judgment! But there is a holy mistaken Zeal in Politics, as in Religion, of which delusive Cup he had drank deep. The Intoxication insensibly dispersed after 1789; and before 1792, he beheld Louis the Sixteenth, Necker, and their insensate, or pernicious Measures, through a just Medium. He then endeavoured to counteract the Effect of his own Orations. In 1781, the Delusion subsisted in all its Force. The unqualified Condemnation which he had always bestowed on the American War, from the Period of its Commencement, seemed to be at least justified by the Result of the Contest; and in that Sentiment he was then supported by a Majority of the British People. When to the Operation of these combined Causes, we add the acknowledged Mediocrity of his Fortune, which left him in a sort of Dependance on the Marquis of Rockingham; together with his long Exclusion from Office, and his unimpeached moral Character, contrasted with the Irregularity of Fox's Conduct; we shall not wonder at the high Place which he occupied, within,

no less than without, the Walls of the House of Commons.

All those Persons to whom his Memory is dear, may like to contemplate him at this Point of Time, when he appears most resplendent, as well as free from many of the Weaknesses, Inconsistencies, and Infirmities, to which our Nature is subject, and from which he was by no means exempt. His Admirers will recollect with Concern, the querulous Lamentations, and unseemly Reluctance, with which, in 1782 and 1783, he each Time quitted the Pay Office, on the Change of Administration. They will remember the Acts of Imprudence and Indiscretion, not to call them by any harsher Name, which characterized his Tenure of Office, during the Existence of the Coalition Ministry; to defend, or to palliate which, demanded the utmost Efforts of Fox's parliamentary Abilities. They will probably admit and lament, his too ardent Prosecution of Hastings, for asserted political Errors or Trespasses, which, even though they had existed in their utmost Extent, ought to have found their Apology in the Difficulties of his Situation; beset, as he was, with domestic

and foreign Enemies, in charge of a vast Empire, and necessitated to find Resources on the Spot, against internal Commotions, no less than against external Hostility. They will reprobate with Severity, his intemperate and indecorous Conduct, as a Member of Parliament, in 1788, on an Occasion when the Country at large felt the deepest Sympathy and Distress, for the intellectual Illness of the Sovereign. And finally, though they will exult in the meritorious Line of Action which he embraced on the Commencement of the French Revolution, as equally honourable to himself, and beneficial to the Cause of Order and Government throughout the civilized World; yet they cannot forget that he received from Mr. Pitt soon afterwards, two Pensions for three Lives, of eighteen hundred Pounds a Year, each, as his Reward: and they will perhaps incline to admit, that on an impartial Survey, Mr. Burke appears greater and more elevated in 1781, than at any subsequent Period of his political Life.

He was then more than fifty Years of Age, of which he had passed fifteen in the House of Commons. I believe he owed his

first Seat in that Assembly, not to the Marquis of Rockingham, but to the late Earl Verney, with whom he had formed some Connexions of a pecuniary Nature ; during the Continuance of which, both that Nobleman and Mr. Burke became Purchasers to a considerable Amount, of East India Stock. The latter, as it was asserted, sold out in Time, after clearing so large a Sum by the Transaction, as with it to have purchased the Estate or House at Gregories, near Beconsfield in Bucks, where he always resided when not in London. Lord Verney, less fortunate, or less prudent, though possessed of a vast landed Property, was almost ruined by his East India Purchases ; and Richard Burke, Edmund's Brother, who was then a Practitioner at the Bar, being likewise involved in the same losing Concern, was said to be unable to fulfil his Stock Engagements ; or in the Language of Change Alley, to have *waddled*. Hence, in allusion to this Circumstance, his Enemies, instead of *Dick* Burke, commonly called him *Duck* Burke. Edmund, in 1781, rented a House in the Broad Sanctuary, Westminster, conveniently situated for his Attendance in Parliament ; but, entertained very little Company : and his pe-

cuniary Obligations to the Marquis of Rockingham, which were known to be great, sufficiently indicated the limited Nature of his private Fortune.

Nature had bestowed on him a boundless Imagination, aided by a Memory of equal Strength and Tenacity. His Fancy was so vivid, that it seemed to light up by its own Powers, and to burn without consuming the Aliment on which it fed: sometimes bearing him away into ideal Scenes created by his own exuberant Mind, but from which he, sooner or later, returned to the Subject of Debate; descending from his most aërial Flights by a gentle and imperceptible Gradation, till he again touched the Ground. Learning waited on him like a Handmaid, presenting to his Choice, all that Antiquity had culled or invented, most elucidatory of the Topic under Discussion. He always seemed to be oppressed under the Load and Variety of his intellectual Treasures; of which he frequently scattered Portions with a lavish Hand, to inattentive, impatient, ignorant, hungry, and sleepy Hearers, undeserving of such Presents. Nor did he desist, though warned by the clamorous Vociferation

of the House, to restrain or to abbreviate his Speeches. Every Power of Oratory was wielded by him in turn: for, he could be during the same Evening, often within the Space of a few Minutes, pathetic and humorous; acrimonious and conciliating; now giving a Loose to his Indignation or Severity; and then, almost in the same Breath, calling to his Assistance, Wit and Ridicule. It would be endless to cite Instances of this Versatility of Disposition, and of the Rapidity of his Transitions,

“ From grave to gay, from lively to severe,”

that I have, myself, witnessed. I will only mention one, as a Proof of his Wit, which occurred in the Session of 1781, not many Months after I first came into Parliament. The Secretary at War, (Jenkinson), having laid on the Table of the House, an Account of the Extraordinaries of the Army, where the Sums remitted to America during the preceding Year, exceeded two Millions, seven Hundred Thousand Pounds; Mr. Harley, through whose Hands the greater Part of the Money had passed, rose, in Order to give some Account of its Application. For that

Purpose, the Alderman, who was no Orator, and who very rarely obtruded himself on the Speaker's Attention; read from a Paper which he held in his Hand, a few gross Sums or Items, which constituted the greater Part of the enormous Expenditure under Examination. His Recital scarcely took up five Minutes. Burke instantly rising, exclaimed, "This Account is, I believe, the most laconic that ever was given of so great a Sum of Money expended in the public Service. Considering the Magnitude of the Sums that the Right Honorable Gentleman has swallowed, he really merits Admiration for the Promptitude with which he has either digested, or disgorged them. His Charge and his Discharge are equally expeditious. He is a Species of Canal, through which the Profusion of the Government passes. I imagine, however, it does not flow off altogether without contributing something to his Nourishment. No doubt such Remittances, like the Mud of the Nile, have in them a fattening Quality; or, to use a vulgar Phrase, they stick to the Ribs. Oh! how I long for an Inspection of this *Harleian Miscellany*!" Alderman Harley, the Subject of these Metaphors, listened to them

with great Composure, and did not attempt to make any Reply: but no ordinary Muscles could resist their Effect. I remember on another Occasion, where Burke had covered Lord North with Ridicule, (I think, it was upon the Report made by the Commissioners of Accounts in 1781,) that Nobleman answered all his Arguments at considerable Length. "And now, Mr. Speaker," said he, "I believe I have replied to every Thing which has fallen from the Honorable Gentleman, except his Wit. That, I readily acknowledge, is unanswerable, he being greatly my Superior in that Respect." Notwithstanding indeed the acrimonious personal Virulence with which Burke frequently treated Lord North, no Man in the House of Commons appeared to enjoy his Sallies of Wit, more than the first Minister. He laughed immoderately, when Burke compared the Sympathy or mutual Dependence of Administration and the American War, to the Porter's Breech and Taliacotius's Nose in "Hudibras." "They will both," said he, "expire together :

" When Life of Parent Nock is out,
Off drops the sympathetic Snout."

“So, with the Termination of the present War, will their Places be extinguished.” Yet, with such an Assemblage of Endowments, which would have sufficed to form many Orators; though Burke instructed, delighted, and astonished, he frequently fatigued, because his Faculties were not controlled by a severe Judgment.

In his Dress and Exterior he was not less negligent than Fox: but, the Spirit of Party did not blend with the Colour of his Apparel; and he rarely or never came to the House in Blue and Buff, though I heard him eulogize Laurens, the American Ex-President, when a Prisoner in the Tower, in Terms such as *Pope* uses when speaking of *Atterbury*, under the same Circumstances. On that Occasion he did not scruple to produce, and to read as Part of his Speech, a Letter addressed to him by Dr. Franklin, from Paris, in Answer to his own Application on the Subject of effecting or facilitating General Burgoyne's Release, by his Exchange against Laurens. I have always considered Burke's Conduct, in thus opening a Correspondence with the Representative of a revolted Body of Men, who was then

residing at the Court of France, with which Nation we were at open War; as one of the greatest Insults on the Government, on Parliament, on the Laws, and on the Majesty of the Sovereign, which has been committed in our Time, by any Subject, with Impunity. It was only exceeded by Fox's sending a Delegate from himself, as Head of the Opposition, to Petersburg, in 1791; an Act for which, it seemed to me, he might justly have been impeached. But, Hastings and Lord Melville were both sent to take their Trial at the Bar of the Peers, under the present Reign, while Fox and Burke escaped all Prosecution. When the latter ventured to boast in the House of Commons, of his Intercourse with Franklin, he relied on the passive Endurance of an unpopular Cabinet, divided among themselves, and sinking under the Contest with a Combination of European Powers leagued against us for the Emancipation of America. There were not wanting however Individuals, even at that Moment of British Humiliation and Embarrassment, who rose and expressed their Indignation at Burke's Temerity. "Good God!" exclaimed Lord Newhaven, "do not my Senses deceive me! Can a

Member of this Assembly, not only avow his Correspondence with a Rebel, but dare to read it to Us!"——George Onslow, Member for Guildford, seemed disposed to adopt Measures of Censure against Burke; but, the Speaker interposing, stopt him as disorderly, there being no Motion before the House. Neither Lord North, nor Lord George Germain, who were both present, and spoke on the Question, alluded to Burke's Correspondence; and he treated Lord Newhaven's Animadversions with contemptuous Levity. Burke constantly wore Spectacles. His Enunciation was vehement, rapid, and never checked by any Embarrassment: for his Ideas outran his Powers of Utterance, and he drew from an exhaustless Source. But, his Irish Accent, which was as strong as if he had never quitted the Banks of the Shannon, diminished to the Ear, the enchanting Effect of his Eloquence on the Mind. Dundas, who laboured under a similar Impediment, yet turned it to Account, if I may so express myself; some of his Expressions or Allusions, by the Variation in pronouncing a single Letter, or pressing too hard upon a Vowel, frequently producing such an equivocal Sound, conveying

at the same Time so strange an Impression on the Ears of his Audience, as put to Flight all Gravity, and convulsed the House with Laughter. In Brilliancy of Wit, Lord North alone could compete with Burke; for, Sheridan had not then appeared. Burke extracted all his Images from classic Authorities: a Fact, of which, among a hundred others, he displayed a beautiful Exemplification, when he said of Wilkes, borne along in Triumph by the Mob, that he resembled Pindar, elevated on the Wings of poetical Inspiration,

—— “ Numerisque fertur
Lege solutis.”

a Pun of admirable Delicacy, and the closest Application.

His personal Qualities of Temper and Disposition, (such is the Infirmary of our Nature,) by no means corresponded with his intellectual Endowments. Throughout his general Manner and Deportment in Parliament, there was a Mixture of Petulancy, Impatience, and at times of Intractability, which greatly obscured the Lustre of his Talents. His very Features, and the undulat-

ing Motions of his Head, while under the Influence of Anger or Passion, were eloquently expressive of this Irritability, which on some Occasions seemed to approach towards Alienation of Mind. Even his Friends could not always induce him to listen to Reason and Remonstrance, though they sometimes held him down in his Seat, by the Skirts of his Coat, in order to prevent the Ebullitions of his Violence or Indignation. Gentle, mild, and amenable to Argument in private Society, of which he formed the Delight and the Ornament, he was often intemperate and reprehensibly personal in Parliament. Fox, however irritated, never forgot that he was a Chief. Burke, in his most sublime Flights, was only a Partizan. The Countenance of the latter, full of Intellect, but destitute of Softness, and which rarely relaxed into a Smile, did not invite Approach or Conciliation. His Enmities and Prejudices, though they originated in Principle, as well as in Conviction, yet became tinged with the virulent Spirit of Party; and were eventually in many Instances, inveterate, unjust, and insurmountable. Infinitely more respectable than Fox, he was nevertheless far less amiable. Exempt from his Defects and Irregu-

larities, Burke wanted the Suavity of Fox's Manner, his Amenity, and his Placability. The one procured more Admirers. The other possessed more Friends. Though acting together to a common Point, as Members of the House of Commons, and embarked in the same Cause; their Intimacy seemed always to commence, and to cease, at the Entrance of the Lobby. Burke retired from the Discharge of his parliamentary Functions, exhausted, chagrined, and often irritated; to repair immediately to his Family, or to the Duties and Avocations of domestic Life. Fox, always fresh, and never more alert than after a long Debate, only quitted the House, in order to drive to Brookes's. Even in their nearest Approximations, there were always essential and striking Distinctions between the two Opposition Leaders. In Genius, in Learning, in Eloquence, in Politics, they were assimilated. But, in their Occupations, Amusements, Society, Companions, and Modes of Life, never were two Men more discordant. They continued nevertheless, to act together through succeeding Parliaments, in good, and in adverse Fortune, 'till the French Revolution finally dissevered them. The ob-

vious Defect of Burke, was Want of Temper and Self-command. Fox's latent Blemish lay in his dissolute Habits and ruined Fortune, which enabled his Enemies to compare him with Catiline. Both wanted Judgment to perceive, that even under the free Constitution of Great Britain, the Cabinet, though it may be taken by Storm, cannot be long held except by Favor. Mr. Fox, in 1806, when unfortunately at the End of his Career, appears to have thoroughly come up with this great Truth, of which, in 1781, he was either regardless or ignorant.

In surveying the Opposition Side of the House of Commons at this Period, the Idea of Barré naturally and unavoidably suggests itself after that of Burke. Both were Natives of the same Country, Ireland; and both had attained to vast Celebrity in their adopted Country, England. But, no Sort of Comparison could be made between their Talents, Acquirements, or Claim to general Admiration; in all which, Burke possessed an infinite Superiority. Of an athletic Frame and Mould, endowed with extraordinary Powers of Voice, Barré, as a Speaker, roughly enforced, rather than solicited or

attracted, Attention. Severe, and sometimes coarse in his Censures or Accusations, he nevertheless always sustained his Charges against Ministers, however strong, with considerable Force of Argument and Language. He, too, as well as Burke, lavished his Encomiums on the Banker of Copet, the Financier of France; whose Example for enlightened Economy, and impartial pecuniary Retribution, Barré recommended to Lord North's Imitation. But, he was more measured in his Panegyrics than Burke, and did not elevate Necker above Sully and Colbert. Slow, measured, and dictatorial in his Manner of Enunciation, he was not carried away by those beautiful Digressions of Genius or Fancy, with which Burke captivated and entertained his Audience. Master nevertheless of his Subject, and more attentive than Burke, not to fatigue the Patience of the House, when he saw them eager to rise, he frequently obtained a mor-indulgent Hearing. Deprived already of one Eye, and menaced with a Privation of both; advanced in Years, grey-headed, and of a savage Aspect, he reminded the Beholders when he rose, of Belisarius, rather than of Tully. Yet possessing a cultivated

Understanding, conversant with the Works of Antiquity, and able on Occasion to press them into his Service, he sometimes displayed a great Diversity of Information.

Near him, on the same Bench, in the front Ranks of the Minority, usually sat his Friend and Colleague, Dunning. Never perhaps did Nature enclose a more illuminated Mind, in a Body of meaner and more abject Appearance. It is difficult to do Justice to the peculiar Species of Ugliness which characterized his Person and Figure, although he did not labor under any absolute Deformity of Shape or Limb. A Degree of Infirmary, and almost of Debility or Decay in his Organs, augmented the Effect of his other bodily Misfortunes. Even his Voice was so husky and choaked with Phlegm, that it refused Utterance to the Sentiments which were dictated by his superior Intelligence. In consequence of this physical Impediment, he lay always under a Necessity of involuntarily announcing his Intention to address the House, some time before he actually rose, by the repeated Attempts which he made to clear his Throat. But, all these Imperfections and Defects of

Configuration, were obliterated by the Ability which he displayed. In Spite of the Monotony of his Tones, and his total Want of Animation, as well as Grace ; yet so powerful was Reason when flowing from his Lips, that every Murmur became hushed, and every Ear attentive. It seemed, nevertheless, the acute Sophistry of a Lawyer, rather than the Speech of a Man of the World, or the Eloquence of a Man of Letters and Education. Every Sentence, though admirable in itself, yet resembled more the Pleading of the Bar, than the Oratory of the Senate. So difficult is it for the most expanded or enlightened Intellect, to throw off the Habits of a Profession. Dunning rather subdued his Hearers, by his Powers of argumentative Ratiocination, which have rarely been exceeded, than he could be said to delight his Audience. His legal Talents soon afterwards raised him to the Peerage ; just in time to attain that Elevation, as his Constitution speedily sunk under accumulated Disorders, which hurried him prematurely to the Grave. This extraordinary Man, who was not exempt from great Infirmary of Mind, felt, or perceived so little his corporeal Deficiencies, as to consider his

Person with extraordinary Predilection. Fond of viewing his Face in the Glass, he passed no Time more to his Satisfaction, than in decorating himself for his Appearance in the World. He and Barré, who were Fellow-laborers in the same Vineyard, represented likewise the same Borough, Calne; and belonged, or at least looked up to the same political Chief, Lord Shelburne. They consequently were animated by no common Principle of Union, or of Action, with Fox and Burke, except one; that of overturning the Administration. On all other Points, a secret Jealousy and Rivality subsisted between the Adherents of the Shelburne and the Rockingham Parties.

Admiral Keppel might likewise be accounted among the principal Members of Opposition in the House of Commons at this Period; though his oratorical Talents seemed to be no more conspicuously exerted in Debate, than his nautical Skill as a Commander, had been displayed on the Quarter Deck, during the memorable Action of the 27th of July, 1778. But, the Persecution, which, as it was pretended, he had undergone, for his Conduct on that Day; the Ac-

cusation brought against him by Palliser, and the ministerial, as well as royal Enmity, which he had incurred;—these political Merits, when added to his Connexion with the Duke of Bedford, whom the Opposition had already marked as their own, though he was not quite sixteen Years of Age at this Time; elevated him to a Consideration, which he could otherwise never have attained. Excluded from representing the Borough of Windsor, at the recent General Election in 1780; the popular Effervescence of the Moment, inflamed at his Rejection, where it was supposed that the Influence and personal Exertions of the Sovereign among the Tradesmen of the Town, had considerably operated to his Prejudice, brought him in for Surrey: a County in which he possessed no Property, nor any hereditary Interest. There appeared neither Dignity in his Person, nor Intelligence in his Countenance, the Features of which were of the most ordinary Cast; and his Nose, which, in consequence of an Accident that befel him in the Course of his professional Life, had been almost laid flat, gave him an equally vulgar and unpleasant Air. His Abilities were indeed of a very limited Description, altogether unfit for such a

Theatre as Parliament: but, the Minority having already destined him to succeed, and to supplant, Lord Sandwich, as soon as they could gain Possession of Power, it became indispensable to sustain him on every Occasion, with all their Efforts.

Another distinguished naval Commander, Lord Howe, who then filled a Seat in the House, might likewise be numbered among the determined Opponents of Government. Since his Return from America, he had not enjoyed the Smiles of the Court; but his professional Character supported him with the Public. His steady, cool, and phlegmatic Courage, sustained by great nautical Experience and Skill; when added to the wholesome Severity of his Discipline while on Service, deservedly placed him high in the Estimation of all Parties. Among the Sailors he was known, from his dark Complexion, by the Epithet of "Black Dick." If no Genius could be discovered in the Lines of his Face, there was in them, an Expression of serene and passive Fortitude which could not be mistaken. His Profile bore, indeed, a very strong Resemblance to the Portraits of George the First, from whom,

by his Mother, he descended. She was the natural Daughter of that Prince, by his Mistress, Madame de Platen, whom he created Countess of Darlington, some Years after his Accession to the Crown of Great Britain. In Parliament, as an Orator, Lord Howe made, if possible, a worse Figure than Kettel; who, when he addressed the House, was at least intelligible, though he might not greatly illuminate the Subject. Lord Howe's Ideas were commonly either so ill conceived by himself, or so darkly and ambiguously expressed, that it was by no Means easy to comprehend his precise Meaning. This oracular and confused Mode of Delivery, rendered still more obscure by the Part of the House where he usually sat, which was on a back Row, at a Distance from the Speaker's Chair, encreased however the Effect of his Oratory; and seemed to exemplify Burke's Assertion, that "Obscurity is a Source of the Sublime."

Sir George Savile, who represented the County of York, attracted from his Descent and Alliances, great Consideration. His known Integrity and Disinterestedness, joined to his extensive landed Property, ele-

vated him in the public Opinion, more than any Endowments of Intellect, or parliamentary Ability. He possessed nevertheless plain manly Sense, and a Facility of Utterance, which, even independent of his high Character and ample Fortune, always secured him Attention.

Lord John Cavendish was listened to, whenever he rose, with similar Deference or Predilection; nor was he altogether destitute of some Pretension to Eloquence. His near Alliance to the Duke of Devonshire, the Head of the *Whig* Interest; his very *Name*, connected with the Revolution of 1688, which secured the Liberties of Great Britain; his unblemished Reputation, and his Talents, though in themselves very moderate;—all these Qualities combined to impress with Esteem, even those who differed most from him in political Opinion. Homely in his Figure, of Manners simple, unassuming, and destitute of all Elegance or Dignity; he presented the Appearance of a Yeoman or a Mechanic, rather than of a Man of high Quality. Nature had in the most legible Characters, stamped Honesty on the Features of his Countenance; but she had not accompanied

it with any ornamental Present. The Opposition already considered him as Chancellor of the Exchequer in Embryo.

General Conway, Brother to the Earl of Hertford, though by no Means a Man of eminent Capacity, or a superior Speaker, yet surpassed in these Respects, either of the two last-mentioned Individuals. His military Experience, acquired in Germany during the "Seven Years War;" his Birth and illustrious Descent, together with the Recollection of his having already occupied one of the most eminent Employments of State under a former Administration; as he filled the Post of Secretary for the Home Department, during the short Period of ten Months when Lord Rockingham presided at the Treasury in 1765 and the following Year;—so many Pretensions, authorized him to expect a Situation no less conspicuous, in any future ministerial Arrangement. Though he had already passed his sixtieth Year, yet his Figure and Deportment were exceedingly distinguished, nor did he want Abilities; but, his Enunciation, embarrassed, and often involved, generally did Injustice to his Conceptions.

Mr. Thomas Townsend, commonly denominated “Tommy Townsend,” and commemorated under that Name, in Goldsmith’s celebrated Poem of “Retaliation,” where he describes Burke,

“Tho’ fraught with all Learning, yet straining his Throat,
To induce *Tommy Townsend* to lend him a Vote;”

looked confidently forward, no less than General Conway, to a high Place in some future Ministry, when Lord North should be driven from Power. Nor were his Expectations eventually disappointed. Having held the lucrative Post of Joint Paymaster of the Forces, at an early Period of his Majesty’s Reign, during about six Months, he was already a Member of the Privy Council. He possessed likewise a very independent Fortune, and considerable parliamentary Interest, present, as well as prospective; two Circumstances which greatly contributed to his personal, no less than to his political Elevation:—for, his Abilities, though respectable, scarcely rose above Mediocrity. Yet, as he always spoke with Facility, sometimes with Energy, and was never embarrassed by any Degree of Timidity, he

maintained a conspicuous Place in the front Ranks of Opposition.

General Burgoyne would not deserve any Mention in this List, if Respect were had only to his parliamentary Talents: but, his Sufferings in the Cause of Opposition, which elevated him to the Rank of a Martyr, like Keppel; Fox's Attachment towards him, and his Connexion by Marriage with Lord Derby, one of the Minority Chiefs;—these Merits supplied every Deficiency. In his Person he rose above the common Height, and when young, must have possessed a distinguished Figure: but, Years had enfeebled him, though he was cast in an athletic Mould. His military Services in the Field, had never been resplendent. He seemed more fitted for the Drawing-room, than for the Camp; for pleasing in Society, than for commanding Armies. No Man possessed more polished Manners. His Manifestos were more admired for their Composition, while he was at the Head of the British Forces in America, than his Tactics or his Manœuvres. Of his dramatic Talents, the Comedy of the “Heiress,” forms an eminent Proof; and I believe, he contributed his Aid to the celebrated “Pro-bationary Odes.”

It was difficult to contemplate him, without recollecting the disgraceful Colours under which “Junius” has designated him, as “taking his Stand at a Gaming-table, and “watching with the sôberest Attention, for “a fair Opportunity of engaging a drunken “young Nobleman at Picquet;” as “drawing a regular and splendid Subsistence “from Play;” and as “sitting down for the “Remainder of his Life, *infamous and contented*, with the Money received from the “Duke of Grafton, for the Sale of a Patent “Place in the Customs.” These Aspersions, which never received any public Answer, did not prevent his occupying a distinguished Place in Fox’s Regard; who exhibited a strong Proof of it, by becoming Burgoyne’s Nominee on the Committee appointed to try the contested Election for the Borough of Preston, which he represented in the Spring of 1781. Supported by such Ability, the General kept his Seat. I have been assured that when he returned on his Parole from America, in May, 1778; the Opposition, apprehensive of his taking Part with Administration, and fearful that he might accuse the Adherents of Congress in this Country, with having contributed by

their Language in Parliament, if not by other Modes of Encouragement, to the Resistance that produced the Disaster of Saratoga; determined if possible to gain him. For that Purpose, Fox went down privately to Hounslow, in a hired Post Chaise, where he met Burgoyne soon after he had landed, on his Way from Plymouth to London. In the Course of a long and confidential Interview, Fox convinced him so thoroughly, that the Ministers would not support him; that Lord George Germain must accuse him, in order to exculpate himself; that the King had imbibed very strong Prejudices against him, and that the Administration could not last a Twelvemonth; as to induce the General to transfer his Charges of Misconduct, from the Opposition, to the Treasury Bench. Present Protection, and future Employment, whenever they should attain to Power, followed of Course. I have no doubt of the Accuracy of this Fact, as I received it from high living Authority.

Burgoyne always affected to consider the whole Administration, as leagued against him, in order to retard or to impede his Exchange. Towards Lord George Ger-

main, who presided over the American Department, he of Course felt, and frequently expressed, great personal Alienation, or rather, Asperity. I remember hearing him declare in his Place, as a Member of Parliament, towards the Close of Lord North's Ministry, in December, 1781, that he would rather submit to be recalled to America by Congress, and be committed to a Dungeon, there to perish, than condescend to solicit a Favour from Men, who had oppressed him in a Manner the most severe; who had refused him a Court Martial; who had calumniated his private Character, and had treated him with every Sort of Indignity. How far these Charges were founded in Truth or Justice, I cannot venture to say; but, it appeared both on Lord George Germain's, and on Lord North's Testimony, that Endeavours had been made by our Government to obtain his Exchange from Congress, which were only frustrated by an Evasion on the Part of the American executive Power, in not ratifying a Capitulation, where a Number of their Troops had fallen into our Hands. Burgoyne himself admitted the Justice of our Claim over those captured Soldiers, who had been proffered to Congress

as an Equivalent for him: but he maintained, that when they were rejected, other Prisoners should have been tendered in their Place. *Regulus* was not however the Character among the unfortunate Commanders of Antiquity, whom he had proposed for his own Model.

Wilkes could not properly be considered as a Member of the Minority; because, though he always sate on that Side of the House, and usually voted with them, yet he neither depended on Lord Rockingham, nor on Lord Shelburne: but, his Predilections leaned towards the latter Nobleman. Representing, as he did, the County of Middlesex, he spoke from a great Parliamentary Eminence. He was an incomparable Comedian in all he said or did; and he seemed to consider human Life itself as a mere Comedy. In the House of Commons he was not less an Actor, than at the Mansion House, or at Guildhall. His Speeches were full of Wit, Pleasantry, and Point; yet nervous, spirited, and not at all defective in Argument. They were all prepared, before they were delivered; and Wilkes made no Secret of declaring, that in Order to secure their accurate Trans-

mission to the Public, he always sent a Copy of them to William Woodfall, *before* he pronounced them. In private Society, particularly at Table, he was pre-eminently agreeable; abounding in Anecdote; ever gay and convivial; converting his very Defects of Person, Manner, or Enunciation, to Purposes of Merriment or of Entertainment. If any Man ever was pleasing, who squinted, who had lost his Teeth, and lisped, Wilkes might be so esteemed. His Powers of Conversation survived his other bodily Faculties. I have dined in Company with him, not long before his Decease, when he was extenuated and enfeebled to a great Degree; but, his Tongue retained all its former Activity, and seemed to have outlived his other Organs. Even in corporeal Ruin, and obviously approaching the Termination of his Career, he formed the Charm of the Assembly. His Celebrity, his Courage, his Imprisonment, his Outlawry, his Duels, his intrepid Resistance to ministerial and royal Persecution, his Writings, his Adventures; lastly, his Triumph and serene Evening of Life, passed in Tranquillity, amidst all the Enjoyments of which his decaying Frame was susceptible;—for, to the last Hour of his Existence,

he continued a Votary to Pleasure ;—these Circumstances, combined in his Person, rendered him the most interesting Individual of the Age in which he lived. Since the Death of Henry St. John, Lord Bolingbroke, who died in 1751, and whose Life bore some Analogy to Wilkes's in various of its Features, no Man had occupied so distinguished a Place in the public Consideration. His Name will live as long as the Records of History transmit to future Times, the Reign of George the Third.

Notwithstanding the personal Collision which may be said to have taken Place between the King and him, during the early Portion of His Majesty's Reign ; Wilkes, like Burke, nourished in his Bosom, a strong Sentiment of constitutional Loyalty. He gave indelible Proofs of it, during the Riots of June, 1780, when *Bull*, one of the Members for London, with whom he had long been intimately connected, crouched under Lord George Gordon's Mob. And though Wilkes lent his Aid to overturn Lord North's Administration, yet he never yoked himself to Fox's Car. On the contrary, no sooner had "the Coalition" unmasked their Bat-

tery of “ the East India Bill,” than Wilkes rallying to the Crown, as the only Protection against Fox’s Ambition, took the warmest Part against that Measure: acting in 1784; nearly the same Part which Burke did eight Years later, in 1792, after the French Revolution; when he sought Shelter behind the Throne, against the Horrors of Anarchy, Regicide, and Insurrection: Horrors, which Fox never could, or never would perceive, and for which he even apologized in no small Degree.

Such was the general Aspect which the House of Commons then presented. Pitt and Sheridan, who have since in different Ways occupied so great a Share of public Attention, had not either of them as yet come forward to public Notice and Admiration. The latter had indeed risen in his Place, as early as the preceding Month of November, within three Weeks after the Meeting of Parliament, in Order to complain of the Facility and Impunity with which Petitions were presented, complaining of Bribery and Corruption on the Part of Members returned to serve in Parliament, which Petitions often proved eventually fri-

volous or vexatious. He stood, himself, in that very Situation ; Mr. Richard Whitworth, one of the Representatives for the Town of Stafford in the preceding Parliament, having just petitioned the House, against the Return of Mr. Sheridan and his Colleague, the Honorable Edward Monckton, for the same Borough. Rigby, on the Occasion to which I allude, with the coarse, contemptuous, and insulting Ridicule, familiar to him when addressing the House, had treated Sheridan's Complaints as meriting no Attention. Fox instantly rose to justify and to protect his Friend ; but the Speaker interposing, terminated the Conversation. Even while pronouncing the few Sentences which he then uttered, the Fame of the Author of the " Duenna," the " School for Scandal," and the " Critic," was already so well established, as to procure him the greatest Attention.

Probably, at no Period of George the Third's long Reign, which already exceeds that of Henry the Third in Duration, have the Walls of the House of Commons enclosed so great an Assemblage of first-rate Talents on the Opposition Benches, as were

there concentrated at the Beginning of the Year 1781. Their Exertions were at once sharpened and propelled by the critical Nature of the Time and of the Contest, which obviously tended to some vast Catastrophe, unless a speedy Amelioration of our Affairs beyond the Atlantic should take Place. The Treasury Bench, though Lord North, Lord George Germain, and Mr. Dundas, still were seated on it, had sustained no ordinary Diminution of its Lustre, by the Removal of Thurlow and of Wedderburn to the upper House: but, on the opposite Side, we beheld a Constellation of Men of Genius. In the Front stood Fox and Burke, sustained by Dunning and Barré; while Pitt and Sheridan, two of the most resplendent Luminaries produced during the Course of the Eighteenth Century, were preparing to unfold their Powers. I have endeavoured to present before the Reader of 1818, an imperfect Picture of the Assembly then sitting at Westminster, and to place him, if I may so express myself, under the Gallery of the House, as a Spectator. In Order, however, to form a more complete Estimate of the principal Individuals who at that Time attracted general Notice, either

as Supporters of Administration, or as Candidates for Office whenever the Opposition should come into Power ; it is still requisite to throw a Glance over the House of Peers.

The great Earl of Mansfield, though he had already advanced beyond that Period of Life, at which the Faculties of the human Mind usually begin to diminish in Vigor, did not appear to have lost any of the Acuteness or Strength of his Intellect. In the Court of King's Bench, no less than in Parliament, where he constantly attended in his Place, his transcendent Abilities still excited equal Respect and Admiration. The Friend of Pope, of Bolingbroke, and of Sir William Wyndham, during his Youth ; he united the finest Accomplishments of Science, to the most profound Knowledge of the Laws. In the recent Riots of 1780, the Populace, whether considering him as inclined to support Measures of an arbitrary Nature, or supposing him a Friend to Principles of religious Toleration repugnant to their Feelings ; selected him for the Object of their Violence. His House and his Papers were consumed : but he had happily escaped any personal Effects of their Rage ; and though not indi-

vidually a Member of Administration, might be considered as disposed on all Occasions, to extend his Assistance to the Government. Yet did the constitutional and characteristic Timidity which distinguished him in his political Capacity, prevent his ever standing forward in Moments of Crisis or Danger, like Thurlow and Wedderburn, as the avowed Champion of ministerial Measures. But, in his judicial Character, he made ample Amends, and manifested a Devotion to the Wishes of the Court, scarcely exceeded by any Example to be adduced even under the Stuart Reigns. The Accusations brought against Lord Mansfield by Wilkes, in his Letter from Paris, of the “22d of October, 1764,” addressed to the Electors of Aylesbury, are of so grave a Description, that, if founded in Truth, a Turkish Cadi might blush to own them. He positively asserts, that on the Evening preceding the two Trials in the Court of King’s Bench, instituted against himself, as the Author of the *North Briton*, No. 45, and of the “*Essay on Woman*,” Lord Mansfield sent for his (Wilkes’s) Solicitor to *his own House*, and desired him to consent to such Alterations in the *Records*, as would ensure the Certainty of Wilkes’s

Conviction. “The Chief Justice,” continues he, “sunk into the crafty Attorney, and “made himself a Party against the Person “accused before him as Judge, when he “ought to have presumed me innocent. My “Solicitor refused; and against his Consent, “*the Records were there materially altered “by his Lordship’s express Orders*; so that “I was tried on two new Charges, very different from those I had answered. This “is, I believe, the most daring Violation of “the Rights of Englishmen, which has been “committed by any Judge since the Time “of *Jefferies*. Yet this arbitrary Scottish Chief Justice still remains unimpeached, “except in the Hearts of the whole Nation.” When we read these Facts;—for, such they must be esteemed, since they remained wholly uncontradicted; we might fancy the Transactions to have taken Place at Sarra-gossa or at Seville, rather than in Westminster Hall. Scarcely could a Spanish Grand Inquisitor have outdone the English Chief Justice. Wilkes continuing his Narrative, says, “Several of the Jury were by Counter “Notices, signed *Summoning Officer*, prevented from attending on the Day appointed for the Trial; while others had

“ not only private Notice given them of the
“ *real Day*, but, likewise, Instructions for
“ their Behaviour. To crown the whole,
“ Lord Mansfield, in his Charge, *tortured*
“ *both the Law and the Fact so grossly*,
“ that the Audience were shocked no less at
“ the Indecency, than at the Partiality of
“ his Conduct. I was during all this Time,
“ very dangerously ill, with my Daughter, at
“ Paris; absolutely incapable of making any
“ personal Defence, and indeed totally igno-
“ rant of the two new Questions on which I
“ was to be tried.” It is not without some
Difficulty, that we can conceive these Viola-
tions of all Justice or Equity to have taken
Place in London, under the Reign of George
the Third. We might rather suppose them
to have been performed under Charles, or
James, the Second.

Nor was Wilkes the only Champion who
stood forward as Lord Mansfield's Accuser,
at the Bar of the English People. With the
single Exception of the Duke of Grafton, no
Man high in Office, had been so severely
treated by the Pen of “ Junius;” and though
Time had skinned over the Wound, the
Cicatrice still remained. That able Writer,

after pursuing the Lord Chief Justice with inconceivable Pertinacity, through all the Sinuosities of legal Concealment or Evasion, under which he attempted to shelter himself;—after comparing him to the most prostitute Judges of the most arbitrary Reigns; to *Tresillian*, under Richard the Second; and to *Jefferies*, under James the Second; exclaims,—“Who attacks the Liberty of the Press? Lord Mansfield. Who invades the constitutional Power of Juries? Lord Mansfield. What Judge ever challenged a Juryman, but Lord Mansfield? Who was that Judge, who, to save the King’s Brother, affirmed that a Man of the first Rank and Quality, who obtains a Verdict in a Suit for criminal Conversation, is entitled to no greater Damages than the meanest Mechanic? Lord Mansfield.” These, it must be owned, are Charges of no common Magnitude, and conveyed in no ordinary Language. At him, “Junius” levelled his last Blows, before he finally disappeared as a political Writer. In his parting Letter, addressed to Lord Camden, written towards the End of January, 1772, exciting and invoking that Nobleman to come forward as the Accuser of the Lord

Chief Justice of the King's Bench, at the Bar of the House of Peers; "Considering," says he, "the Situation and Abilities of Lord Mansfield, I do not scruple to affirm, "with the most solemn Appeal to God for my Sincerity, that in my Judgment, he is "the very worst and most dangerous Man "in the Kingdom. Thus far I have done my Duty, in endeavouring to bring him to Punishment. But, mine is an inferior ministerial Office in the Temple of Justice. I have bound the Victim, and dragged him to the Altar." Severe, and perhaps unmerited as these Accusations may appear, yet Lord Mansfield's warmest Admirers never attempted to deny, that at every Period of Time while he presided in the Court of King's Bench, his Opinions and his Decrees, if not adverse to the Liberty of the Press, and to the Freedom of the Subject, uniformly leaned towards the Crown. His Enemies, not without some Reason asserted, that he was better calculated to fill the Office of a *Prætor* under Justinian, than to preside as Chief Criminal Judge of this Kingdom, in the Reign of George the Third.

Lord Loughborough, who owed to Lord North, his recent Elevation to the Peerage, constituted one of his ablest Advocates, and most zealous Supporters, in that House. Wedderburn had risen through the Gradations of the Law, amidst the Discussions of Parliament, side by side with Thurlow. More temperate, pliant, artful, and accommodating in his Manners, than the Chancellor, he equalled that Nobleman in Eloquence, if he did not even surpass him. *Churchill*, in one of his Satires, has thought proper to describe Wedderburn in Colours of the deepest and most malignant Dye, heightened by the Magic of Verse. I believe, it appeared in 1762.

“ To Mischief train’d, e’en from his Mother’s Womb,
Grown old in Fraud, tho’ yet in Manhood’s Bloom,
Adopting Arts by which gay Villains rise,
And reach the Heights which honest Men despise;
Mute at the Bar, and in the Senate loud,
Dull ’mongst the dullest, proudest of the proud,
A pert prim Prater of the Northern Race,
Guilt in his Heart, and Famine in his Face,
Stept forth.”——

Nor was Fox much more favourable to Wedderburn, previous to the “ Coalition” in 1783,

which obliterated all preceding Errors on both Sides. In November, 1781, on the Day when Parliament met, Fox, while loading with Execrations the American War, and its Authors or Abettors, selected Wedderburn as an Object of his strongest Reprobation. Alluding to the Language which that eminent Lawyer had formerly held, when he designated the Contest with America, “to be the Opposition of Hancock and his Crew, not a War with the People at large;” Fox observed, that “for these Sentiments, and not for any other Merit that he could discover, except the abusing our Fellow Subjects beyond the Atlantic, the learned Gentleman had been raised to the Dignity of a Peer.” Notwithstanding these Denunciations of Party Violence, poetic and political, no Man in public Life possessed more Versatility of Talents, or Abilities better adapted to every Situation. He proved himself as refined a Courtier at St. James’s, as he was an able Lawyer at Westminster. His Defence of Lord Clive, when under Accusation before the House of Commons, at an earlier Period of His Majesty’s Reign, augmented Wedderburn’s legal, as well as parliamentary Reputation. It had been per-

petually progressive since that Time, and rendered him, whether as a Member of the lower, or of the upper House, one of the most distinguished Ornaments of the long Robe.

Nor did the Opposition at this Time want men of distinguished Capacity, professional and political, in the House of Lords, though the Marquis of Rockingham was not to be accounted among the Number. His Rank, his Integrity, and his vast patrimonial Property, rather than any intellectual Endowments, had placed him at the Head of his Party. During the short Period of Time when he formerly filled the Post of first Lord of the Treasury, he had displayed more Rectitude of Intention, than either Vigor or Ability. Even his Constitution and Frame of Body, appeared inadequate to the Fatigues of an official Situation demanding Energy and Application. Lord Camden on the contrary, though much more advanced in Years, had retained all the Powers of his Mind, combined with personal Activity. In Debate, he might be esteemed equal to Lord Mansfield himself; and his Exertions at every Period of his Life, in Defence of the

constitutional Liberties of the Subject, which gave him a Sort of individual Superiority to that Nobleman, greatly endeared him to the Nation. While Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, he had approved himself a firm and intrepid Guardian of the Rights of the English People. On the thirtieth of April, 1763, when Wilkes was illegally arrested under a General Warrant issued by the two Secretaries of State, the Earls of Egremont and Halifax; Sir Charles Pratt, on Application being made to him in his judicial Capacity, instantly ordered the *Habeas Corpus* to issue; though the Ministers thought proper to evade and to violate it. His Name, almost always united with the great Earl of Chatham, ever since the Accession of George the Third, seemed inseparable from the Idea of Freedom.

If indefatigable and laborious Pertinacity could recommend to Office, or qualify for public Employment, few Members of the upper House possessed a better Title to that Praise, than the Duke of Richmond. However limited might be the Range of his Ideas, he supplied in some Measure by Application, the Deficiency of original Talent. His

Person, Manners, and Address, were all full of Dignity; and the personal Beauty which distinguished Mademoiselle de la Querouaille, Mistress of Charles the Second, his great Grandmother, was not become extinct in him. She is known to have retained her Charms, down to a very late Period of her Life; and the Fables related of Ninon de l'Enclos, which Voltaire has exposed, were in some Measure verified in the Duchess of Portsmouth. The late George Selwyn, who had seen her at Richmond House in the Year 1733;—for, she survived Charles the Second, near fifty Years;—assured me that she was even then possessed of many Attractions, though verging towards fourscore, Like his Nephew Mr. Fox, the Duke did not spare the King, when addressing the House of Lords; and he was considered as peculiarly obnoxious at St. James's. Accused by his Enemies, of wanting personal Courage, he manifested at least no Defect of political Resolution. At the East India House, in his Quality of a Proprietor, no less than as a Peer of Parliament, at Westminster, he was ever active; vigilant in detecting and exposing Abuses, real or imaginary; perpetually harassing every Depart-

ment with Enquiries ; and attacking in turn, the Army, the Admiralty, and the Treasury.

But, no Individual in the upper House, attracted so much national Attention from his Accomplishments, Talents, and extensive Information on all Subjects of foreign or domestic Policy, as the Earl of Shelburne. In the Prime of Life, and in the full Vigor of his Faculties, he displayed, whenever he rose to speak, an intimate Knowledge of Europe ; together with such a Variety of Matter, as proved him eminently qualified to fill the highest official Situation. At an early Period of His Majesty's Reign, he had occupied with great and general Approbation, the Post of Secretary of State for the Home Department, during more than two Years, between 1766 and 1768. He might therefore justly look forward, on any Change of Ministers, to be again employed in a similar, or even in a higher Place of Trust and Power. His Acquaintance with the Continent, was minute and accurate, the Result of ocular Inspection on many Points, corrected by Reflection ; and improved by Correspondence or Communications with Foreigners of Eminence, whom he assidu-

ously cultivated and protected. Mr. Fox himself was far inferior to Lord Shelburne, in these Branches of Information. Nor was that Nobleman less versed in all the Principles of Finance and of Revenue, than in the other Objects of political Study that form a Statesman. His House, or more properly to speak, his Palace in Berkeley-square, which had formerly been erected by the Earl of Bute; formed at once the Centre of a considerable Party, as well as the Asylum of literary Taste and Science.

It is a Fact, that during the latter Years of Lord North's Administration, he retained three or four Clerks in constant Pay and Employment under his own Roof, who were solely occupied in copying State Papers or Accounts. Every Measure of Finance, adopted by the first Minister, passed, if I may so express myself, through the political Alembic of Shelburne House, where it was examined and severely discussed. There, while Dunning and Barré met to settle their Plan of Action, as Members of the Opposition in the House of Commons; Jackson, who likewise sat in the same Assembly for New Romney, and the Variety of whose In-

formation had acquired him the Name of "Omniscient Jackson," furnished every Species of legal or general Knowledge. Dr. Price and Mr. Baring produced financial Plans, or made arithmetical Calculations, meant to controvert and overturn, or to expose, those of the first Lord of the Treasury: while Dr. Priestley, who lived under the Earl of Shelburne's personal Protection, (just as the celebrated *Hobbes* had done at Chatsworth, under the immediate Patronage of the Earls of Devonshire, in the preceding Century;) prosecuted in the midst of London, his philosophical and chemical Researches. Nor ought I to omit in this list of extraordinary Men, the distinguished Names of Jervis, and of Jekyll; one of whom has risen to such naval Honours and Dignities; while the other has attained to an equal Eminence at the Bar, as he enjoys from the Charms of his Conversation, in private Society.

In his Person, Manners, and Address, the Earl of Shelburne wanted no external Quality requisite to captivate or conciliate Mankind. Affable, polite, communicative, and courting Popularity, he drew round him a

Number of Followers or Adherents. His personal Courage was indisputable. Splendid and hospitable at his Table, he equally delighted his Guests by the Charms of his Conversation and Society. In his magnificent Library, one of the finest of its Kind in England, he could appear as a Philosopher and a Man of Letters. With such various Endowments of Mind, sustained by Rank and Fortune, he necessarily excited universal Consideration, and seemed to be pointed out by Nature, for the first Employments. But, the Confidence which his moral Character inspired, did not equal the Reputation of his Abilities. His Adversaries accused him of systematic Duplicity and Insincerity. They even asserted, that unless all the Rules of Physiognomy were set at Defiance, his very Countenance and Features eloquently indicated Falsehood. In order to fix upon him so injurious an Imputation, they gave him the Epithet of *Malagrida*, from the Name of a Portuguese Jesuit, well known in the modern History of that Kingdom. And these Insinuations, though not perhaps accompanied with Proofs, were nevertheless, either from the Credulity, or from the Malignity of Mankind,

widely circulated, as well as very generally believed, throughout the Nation.

[23d—31st January.] If any Crisis ever demanded a first Minister of Energy, Firmness, and Resources of Character, it was assuredly the Portion of the present Reign on which we are about to enter, including the last fourteen Months of Lord North's long Administration. There may since that Time have been Moments of greater Alarm, under Mr. Pitt, Mr. Addington, or Mr. Percival; but, none of such ministerial and national Depression. Even when Bonaparte seemed to bestride the Continent from West to East; while his Flotilla menaced us with monthly Invasion;—when the Southern Coast was covered with Martello Towers, from Beachy Head to Romney Marsh; and the Corsican Emperor having vanquished Europe, seemed only to reserve England, as Polypheme does Ulysses, for his last Sacrifice;—yet even then, though we felt Apprehension, the Spirit and the Confidence of the Country were fully commensurate to the impending or apparent Danger. The Sovereign was an Object of Affection and of universal Respect. It was a Combat of Morals and of Patriotism,

against the Principle of Rapine, Disorganization, and ferocious military Despotism; while the continental Governments and People, however subjected they themselves might be, put up secret Prayers for our Escape and Success. But in 1781, Lord North had neither internal, nor foreign Auxiliaries. Which ever way he directed his View, it was met by Calamity, or Defeat, or accumulating Difficulties. Under such Circumstances, it may rather excite Surprize that he resisted so long, than that he should ultimately have sunk beneath the Pressure. No sooner had Parliament re-assembled after the Adjournment, than the Reclamations or Complaints which had been repressed during the Recess, burst out with a Vehemence proportioned to their preceding Delay. While General Smith called the Attention of the Minister and the House, to the alarming Condition of the Provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, where the newly instituted Court of Judicature had commenced a Sort of civil War against the Supreme Government; the Island of Barbadoes, desolated by the Hurricane of which I have already made Mention; through its Agent, a Member of the House, in Terms calculated to awaken Com-

miseration in every Bosom, besought Administration to extend some immediate Relief to their almost indescribable Wants.

Great as were these Misfortunes, and deeply affecting the British Empire at its two Extremities; a more serious Subject of Contemplation, because it was one much nearer Home, engrossed universal Attention. I mean, the Manifesto presented by Lord North, at the same Time that he delivered a Message from His Majesty, announcing the Commencement of Hostilities against Holland. Never, probably, in the History of modern Nations, was any State Paper drawn up with more Temper; Moderation, and even a Spirit of Conciliation! The King lamented in every Line, the painful Necessity imposed on him, to resent the Infractions of Treaty committed by his ancient Allies, the Dutch. But, the Source of the Evil lay in the Depression of Great Britain, already surrounded by Enemies, and apparently unequal to protracting the Struggle. In the Course of a long Debate that ensued upon the Address proposed to be presented to the Sovereign, which was opposed on factious, rather than on solid Grounds of Argument; Lord North, in Re-

ply to Burke observed, that “our national Difficulties were unquestionably great; but, he trusted, by no Means insuperable.” “I am neither disposed,” added he, “to conceal their Magnitude, nor afraid to encounter them; because I am fully convinced that the Means possessed by this Country, when vigorously exerted, constitute the only Mode of obtaining a just and an honorable Peace.” These magnanimous Sentiments, which might have become the first Mr. Pitt in 1758, or his Son in 1805; both which were Periods of universal Dejection; received from Fox, from Townsend, from Lord John Cavendish, and from Dunning, every injurious or contumelious Epithet; accompanied by Reproaches for having, as they falsely asserted, driven Holland into the Arms of the House of Bourbon. The Minister did not however want Defenders on that Evening; among whom, though the most inconsiderable in every Sense, I might name myself. Nor did the Division deceive his Hopes, as he carried the proposed Address by a Majority of seventy-nine. I was among the Number of those Members who went up with it to St. James’s, where it met from His Majesty, the most gracious Reception.

[1st of February.] I wish it were in my Power to convey an adequate Idea to the Reader of 1818, and to transport him to the Debate that took Place, when Fox moved a Censure on the Administration, for having advised His Majesty to confer on Palliser, the Government of Greenwich Hospital. All the first Orators who graced the Opposition Benches, came forward in Succession. Palliser and Keppel faced each other; the former Admiral, seated near the Minister; the latter, opposite to him; sustained by his numerous, zealous, and eloquent Partizans. The Events of the 27th of July, 1778;—a Day marked by so many painful Recollections; were once more retraced, discussed, and agitated with all the Violence of mutual Animosity. Fox opened the Subject in a masterly Manner; mingling in his Mode of managing it, not less Art, than Eloquence or Argument. Nor did he spare, in certain Parts of his Discourse, the King himself; though in Compliance with the Forms of Parliament, he abstained from expressly naming the Sovereign. Keppel had been recently rejected as Member for Windsor, which Borough thought proper to return, as one of their

Representatives, Mr. Powney, a Gentleman of independent Fortune in the Vicinity. To this Circumstance, as having been produced by royal Interference, Fox alluded. “And what,” exclaimed he exultingly, “is the Consequence! The County of Surrey, which Portion of England beheld with Indignation, the Oppression practised in his Person; who saw the enormous Influence of the *Crown* opposed to Virtue, Popularity, and Reputation; opened their Arms to receive him, and invited him to become their Representative. Thus, Oppression produced its opposite Effect; and my honorable Relation, expelled from a Place which he had represented in successive Parliaments, by the Influence of the *Crown*, is returned to this Assembly, for a great and opulent County.”

Lord North, in his Reply to Fox, did not omit to give the most pointed Denial to the Assertion that Keppel had been driven from Windsor, by the means to which Allusion was made; adding, that “the Honorable Gentleman well knew the Fact not to be true, and only threw out the Imputation, merely with a View to inflame the Passions of his Audience.” Disdaining, on an Occa-

sion so grave and weighty, to avail himself of his customary Weapons, Ridicule and Pleasantry; the first Lord of the Treasury, in a Speech replete with sound Sense and strong Reasoning, combated Fox's Propositions; reminded him of the Frenzy which had agitated London for three Nights, when a lawless and unrestrained Mob compelled the peaceable Inhabitants to illuminate for a Victory which had never been gained; and attributed, not to Conviction, but, to Intimidation, the Vote of Thanks to Keppel carried in the last House of Commons, under those Circumstances. On one Point only Lord North indulged for a few Moments, that Vein of genuine Humour and playful Wit, which so eminently characterized him. Fox having asserted roundly, that "Palliser's Resignation of his Places and Employments, formed a tacit Admission of his Criminality," Lord North classically exclaimed,

"Quam temere Nosmet Legem sancimus iniquam!"

"Some Men," continued he, "resign their Places, for the Sake of the public Quiet. Others resign from shrewd Arithmetical Calculations, that it may be more judicious

“ to give up a Place of small Value now, in
“ Order to get a better, some Time hence.
“ Others again act thus from political Fore-
“ sight. They discover an approaching
“ Storm; they ‘ snuff it gathering in the
“ Sky:’ they perceive that an Administra-
“ tion totters, and they quit the falling Fa-
“ brick, in Expectation of coming into high
“ Office, by joining the opposite Party. For
“ my Part, I believe the Vice Admiral re-
“ signed from a most laudable Motive, in
“ Order to restore the public Tranquillity,
“ which had been overturned by the Mad-
“ ness of the Times.”

Captain George Johnstone, or as he was more commonly denominated, Commodore Johnstone, a Man who has attained a considerable Degree of Celebrity during this Portion of the Reign of George the Third; rising for the first Time since the Meeting of the present Parliament, took no ordinary Part in the Debate. Nature had cast him in a coarse, but, a vigorous Mould, and had endowed him with corresponding or analogous Faculties of Mind. Irascible, intemperate, violent, he was a warm and zealous Friend; but, an implacable Enemy. He

possessed a Species of ardent, impetuous, half savage Eloquence, restrained by no Delicacy of Language; yet capable of powerfully affecting his Hearers by the Display of Information, by his energetic Appeals to their Passions, and by his Gesticulations which came in Aid of his Oratory. As a naval Officer of Rank and Experience, when addressing the House on a naval Question, he might justly lay Claim to Attention. He had proved himself nevertheless more a sagacious Politician, than an able Commander; and looked rather to parliamentary Talents, than to maritime Services, for elevating him in Life, as well as for enabling him to acquire the Honors or Emoluments of his Profession. Johnstone, while he admitted, that Keppel was individually a brave, a gallant, and a meritorious Officer; inveighed in Terms the most severe, against the general Dispositions which he had made previous to engaging the Fleet of France, on the memorable 27th of July. Of that Action Johnstone spoke, as of the most unfortunate which Great Britain had ever witnessed; “in Consequence of which, the French became convinced by their own Experience, that on a Summer’s Day, they could engage an

“ English Fleet superior in every Point of View, and yet get safe back to their own Harbours.” He treated with indignant Ridicule, the Expression used by Keppel, when he allowed d’Orvilliers to retire unmolested, under a Supposition that “ he would fight it out fairly next Morning,” instead of renewing the Engagement on the same Evening: adding, that he entertained no Doubt, the Honorable Admiral himself, if he were to fight the Battle over again, would conduct it in a very different Manner. Then adverting to the disgraceful Tumults, and still more disgraceful Illuminations, on Occasion of the pretended Advantage gained over France, “ Oh! God!” said he, raising his Eyes, and covering with both Hands his Face, “ London, illuminated during three successive Nights, on Account of the national Glory acquired on the 27th of July! No Man of common Sense could credit it.” Towards the Conclusion of his Speech, Johnstone, in the most pointed Language, after vindicating Lord Sandwich in his official Character, as first Lord of the Admiralty, from the Imputations of various Kinds thrown out against his naval Administration; expressed his Concern and Surprize at seeing

so respectable a Name as that of Admiral Keppel, subscribed to a List of factious Resolutions adopted by a Surrey Committee, declaring the American War to be an unjust Enterprize. "What Opinion," observed he, "must Officers who are proceeding to that Quarter of the Globe, form of a naval Commander, so long the Object of their Respect; who now joins in declaring that every Man who serves against the Insurgents beyond the Atlantic, is no better than a Pirate, and that the Contest itself is a War of Injustice and Oppression!"

Proceeding in this Strain of Accusation, and carried away by the Warmth of his irritable Temper, which, like that of Burke, was by no means always under the Control of Reason; Johnstone arraigned the Opinions delivered from the Opposition Benches, on the late Debate relative to the Declaration of War against Holland, as dangerous, if not fatal in their Consequences to the national Welfare. He even charged, though not by Name, yet by unavoidable Implication, Fox, as well as his Friends who sate near him, with the Criminality of Advocates employed by the Enemies of England, to tra-

duce, to degrade, and to overturn her Greatness. Apprehensive probably of the Effect which such a Denunciation might produce on the public Mind, Mr. Thomas Townsend starting up; called the Commodore to Order; and though Rigby interposed to justify the Observations that he had made, as arising out of the Subject under Discussion; consequently as strictly conformable to the acknowledged Rules of Debate; yet Johnstone, whose Understanding had been allowed a few Moments to operate, aware of the delicate Ground on which he was treading, declined to add another Word. The House in vain encouraged him to proceed, by Cries of Go on! Go on! He sate down, and Kessel availed himself of the Pause, to present to the House his Sentiments on the Question. In a Speech of considerable Length, he endeavoured to throw the Blame of the Failure of the 27th of July, on Palliser; though he was necessitated to admit the personal Efforts to break the French Line, made by that gallant Officer. He owned that he no more liked the Mention of the unfortunate Day itself, than did the Commodore; while he affected at the same Time to thank his Honorable Relation, for afford-

ing him the present Occasion of justifying himself to the House of Commons and to his Country.

Sir Hugh Palliser now rose, and directed his Discourse to Fox, rather than to the Admiral who had just preceded him. The Matter of his Address made Amends for any Deficiencies in its Delivery, and enforced universal Attention. After reproaching Fox with Want of Candour, if not of Veracity, in the Statement made by him of the Motives that had produced the Resignation of his own Employments; Sir Hugh assured him that it did not proceed from any Apprehension of his Threats, nor from any Consciousness of Misconduct in himself. "Fear," continued he, "is the Tax which Conscience pays to Guilt. Let those experience it, who calumniate the Characters of others, and afterwards object to hear the injured Party in his Exculpation! I was indeed once afraid, I confess. I was afraid of a frantic, deluded, furious Populace, who forced their Way into my House, destroyed my Property, and would have torn me in Pieces, if the Arrival of a Detachment of the Guards sent to my Relief, had not critically rescued me from their

Ferocity. I was necessitated to abscond, and from the Place of my Concealment, I wrote my Letter of Resignation. In so acting, I imitated the Precedent set me by one of the most celebrated naval Commanders known in modern History. I mean, the famous Dutch Admiral, Van Tromp. He, under the Operation of popular Prejudice and Outrage, laid down his Commission, in Order to pacify the Public: but he subsequently resumed it under more auspicious Circumstances, and rendered the highest Services to his native Country." Having modestly, but distinctly stated the Share that he took in the Engagement of the 27th of July; where, by the universal Confession of every Officer present, he had manifested uncommon Intrepidity, and had received in his Ship, the "Formidable," the exclusive Fire of the whole French Line; he concluded by pointing some severe Observations against Burke, as well as against Keppel: leaving on my Mind, and I believe, on that of every unprejudiced Hearer, the strongest Conviction of his Merits, no less than of the Persecution that he had endured.

Burke may be said to have terminated this very interesting Discussion, rising as

soon as Palliser sat down ; no doubt with the Design of obliterating the Impression made on the House, by the preceding Speaker. If Eloquence, Ingenuity, and a perfect Acquaintance with every Fact or minute Detail connected with the Subject, could efface that Impression, and substitute in its Place an opposite Sentiment, he must have succeeded :—for, never were more brilliant, various, and captivating Powers of Intellect exhibited, than by Burke on that Evening. He left no Feature of the Subject untouched, and all touched with a Master Hand. Against Palliser he directed the Shafts of his argumentative Severity ; against Lord North, the keener Arrows of Ridicule and Irony ; nor did he by any means omit Johnstone, who attracted his full Proportion of both those Weapons of Attack. The finest Specimen of ludicrous and metaphorical Description ever perhaps given even by Burke himself, within the Walls of the House of Commons, he pointed against the first Minister. That Nobleman found himself obliged to call in the Assistance of Mansfield, the Solicitor General, in Order to enable him to shape his proposed Amendments to Fox's Motion for declaring “ the Ap-

“ pointment of Palliser to be Governor of
“ Greenwich Hospital, a Measure totally
“ subversive of the Discipline, and deroga-
“ tory to the Honor of the Navy.” Some
Minutes having elapsed, while the precise
Words proper to be adopted, were under
Consideration ; Burke observed, that “ the
“ noble Lord had been employed in *knotting*
“ and *splicing* the Motion, and in *fishing*
“ its *Mast* ;” at the same Time remarking,
(in Allusion to his Consultation with the
Solicitor General,) that “ he need not have
“ *fired a Gun to Leeward*, as a Signal of
“ Distress, it being obvious that his *Mizen*
“ *Top Masts* were all shot away.” These
Metaphors, drawn from the technical Terms
of the very Service respecting which the
House had been so long engaged in Debate,
operated with inconceivable Effect on the
Muscles of the Assembly ; and on none
more forcibly than on those of the first Mi-
nister, against whom they were specially
directed. He found himself for once over-
whelmed by the very Artillery which he
commonly employed against his Opponents,
and in the Use of which he so much ex-
celled. The Motion was at length nega-
tived, though only by a Majority of *Sixty*

five; the Opposition dividing 149; while Administration had 214 Votes. Palliser continued to retain the Government of Greenwich Hospital, down to the Period of his Decease in 1796; but, no first Lord of the Admiralty ever ventured to employ him again in the Line of his Profession.

[26th February.] Among the Circumstances which will always render the Session of 1781 peculiarly interesting to Posterity, must be accounted the active Appearance of Pitt and of Sheridan, on the Floor of the House of Commons. They both may be said to have commenced their brilliant parliamentary Career, nearly at the same Time, within a few Days of each other. Both spoke on the Side of Opposition, and both were received with marked Approbation, by every Part of their Audience. I was present, when each of them rose for the first Time. Pitt led the Way, on the second Reading of Burke's Bill for "the Reform of the King's Household;" which, though rejected in the last Session of the preceding Parliament, its Author did not the less bring forward anew, towards the Close of the Month of February. He reiterated, on moving for

Leave to bring in the Bill, the same Encomiums upon the salutary Retrenchments made by Necker, with which he had entertained the House in 1780; extolled the Discernment of Louis the Sixteenth, in making Choice of such a Minister, for Superintendent of the Finances; and asserted, that the Selection would produce more substantial Benefit, as well as more solid Glory to his Reign, than had resulted from all the Deeds of Henry the Fourth. “We want,” said he, “some such great and enlightened Statesman, who will strike out new and untried Paths, adapted to the Pressure of the Times. Here no Measures are adopted, except on a narrow, fraudulent Scale, producing temporary Supplies by Retails of Misfortune. *Tædet harum Formarum!* These are only delusive Phantoms. Give me Substance and Reality;—*Corpus solidum, et Succum plenum!* When the financial Resources of the French Monarchy were believed to be exhausted, and when every ordinary Channel of Revenue was known to be dried up, Mr. Necker opened a Mine of national Wealth; dug down into it; reached the Fountain Head of productive Receipt; and by demolishing the

“ Dams that impeded the Current of Wealth,
“ he immediately brought into the Exche-
“ quer, the Value of near six Hundred use-
“ less Places.” Such were the Eulogiums pronounced upon the Banker of Copet, whose ill combined and illusive Plans, calculated only to acquire Popularity at the Expence of his unfortunate Master, plunged France into irretrievable Embarrassments, and led ultimately to the Subversion of the Monarchy! The Measures moreover, adopted by an arbitrary Prince for maintaining a War, in which, contrary to every Maxim of wise Policy, no less than by the Subversion of all Treaties subsisting between France and England, he had engaged with us; did not appear, in the Opinion of impartial Men, to form a proper Model for our Imitation. After a Debate of considerable Length, the Bill was rejected only by a Majority of forty-three Votes, in a very full House, where four Hundred and twenty-three Members were present. Great Expectations having been formed of Pitt, a sort of anxious Impatience for his coming forward, pervaded the Assembly; which was strongly impressed from common Report, with a Belief of his hereditary Talents and Eloquence. He un-

questionably commenced under most auspicious Circumstances ; his Birth, and his very Name, by resuscitating as it were the first Earl of Chatham, whose Memory awakened such animating Recollections, preparing every Ear to be attentive ; and thus removing all the Impediments that present themselves in the Way of ordinary Men, when attempting to address Parliament. But, sanguine as might be the Opinions entertained of his Ability, he far exceeded them ; seeming to attain at his Outset, that Object, which other Candidates for public Fame or Favour, slowly and laboriously effect, by Length of Time and regular Gradations.

It was in reply to Lord Nugent that Pitt first broke Silence, from under the Gallery, on the Opposition Side of the House. The same Composure, Self-possession, and imposing Dignity of Manner, which afterwards so eminently characterized him when seated on the Treasury Bench ; distinguished him in this first Essay of his Powers, though he then wanted three Months to have completed his twenty-second Year. The same nervous, correct, and polished Diction, free

from any Inaccuracy of Language, or Embarrassment of Deportment, which, as first Minister, he subsequently displayed, were equally manifested on this Occasion. Formed for a popular Assembly, he seemed made to guide its Deliberations, from the first Moment that he addressed the Members composing it. The Debate of that Evening which first introduced so distinguished an Individual to the Knowledge of his Countrymen as a Candidate for Office, stands so much apart from the ordinary Discussions of Parliament; and the Particulars of it will unquestionably excite so warm a Curiosity, that I shall endeavour to retrace some of its Features. And I can do it with the greater Facility, as well as Accuracy, having not only been in my Place on that Night as a Member of the House, but, taken an active Part in it. I spoke at considerable Length, *against* the Bill; replied to Burke's Encomiums on Necker, and treated the Plans of that Genevese Financier, nearly in the same Manner as I have since written respecting them. These Observations I venture to make, in Order to shew that in all I may state, I am not composing from Books, but, relating such Facts as remain impressed on

my Memory, and have survived the Lapse of six and thirty Years. I shall therefore proceed, without heeding the malevolent Comments that may be made on my Vanity and Egotism, for the Mention of myself as in any Manner connected with Mr. Pitt's Entrance on public Life.

Lord Nugent, while he professed himself a Friend to Economy, strongly opposed Burke's Bill on various Grounds; as destroying the Independence of the Sovereign, while it would injure the Frame of the British Constitution, by subverting the nice Equipoise on which depended its Permanence and Stability. He afterwards treated the projected Reform to be made in the royal Household, as not less visionary or impracticable, than the "Commonwealth" of Plato in Antiquity, or than Sir Thomas More's "Utopia." Adding, that however much he might desire to introduce all becoming Reductions of Expence about the King's Court and Person, he never would vote for setting him down to an Ordinary, or render him a more dependent Man than any of his Subjects. Against these Opinions or Arguments, Mr. Pitt directed all the Force

of his Eloquence. The Ministers, he said, and they only, were culpable in not having come forward spontaneously, to propose a Diminution of the Civil List. If however, instead of performing their Duty to a burthened and impoverished Country, they interposed to prevent the Benignity of the Monarch, to check the free Exercise of his natural Bounty, to stop the Tide of royal Sympathy, and to close up his paternal Emotions; there could exist no good Reason, why, because Administration neglected or abused its Trust, the Representatives of the People should imitate so pernicious and criminal an Example. It might be asserted that the proposed Measure would place the Crown in a State of Tutelage: but, the Guardianship of a British House of Commons, could not surely be disgraceful to a constitutional Prince. Were Magnificence and Retrenchment incompatible? Or was 200,000*l.* a Year, which the Bill proposed to take from useless State, and to pour into the public Purse, so inconsiderable a Saving as to be unworthy of Parliamentary Attention? —Towards the Conclusion of his Speech, which, I think, did not exceed in Duration, sixteen or seventeen Minutes, he enlarged on

the Nature of the Civil List itself; which, he said, was originally granted, not for the personal Pleasures or Gratifications of His Majesty, but, for public Purposes. Those Objects, embracing the Splendor of the Throne, he detailed; terminating by the Expression of the extreme Reluctance with which, in the awful State of the Empire, convulsed and bleeding on every Side, his faithful Commons, who had voted him the Revenue that he enjoyed, now applied to him to part with a Portion of it, as a Sacrifice to their Necessities.

Such, as far as I am able to recall it, was the Purport of Mr. Pitt's opening Address to Parliament. It impressed, more from the Judgment, the Diction, and the calm Solemnity of Manner, that pervaded and characterized it from its Commencement to its Close, than from the Brilliancy or Superiority of the Matter. While he ardently supported the Measure, he rather soothed and flattered, than wounded the Feelings of the King against whom it was in a certain Degree directed. He seemed to possess himself as much, as though he had pronounced the Speech in his own Closet: but, there

was no Display of studied or classic Images in any Part of it; nothing gaudy, superfluous, or unnecessary. The Statesman, not the Student, or the Advocate, or the Candidate for popular Applause, characterized it. Lord John Townsend, (then Mr. John Townsend,) who spoke in an early Stage of the Debate, before Mr. Pitt rose; manifested more Talent, and drew his Allusions from more cultivated Sources of Information, than were exhibited by Pitt; but, he by no means made a similar Impression on the Audience. As if the Evening of the 26th of February, was destined for the opening Display of Parliamentary Ability, by Men who have since occupied so high a Place in the public Consideration; the present Earl of Lauderdale, then Viscount Maitland, commenced his very useful and distinguished Career, only about an Hour later than Pitt. Like him, Lord Maitland, then a very young Man, brought his powerful Resources of Mind, to the Aid of Opposition. In a Speech, full of Animation, indignant at the fallen State to which Ministers, as he asserted, had reduced their Sovereign and their Country; he traced the whole Calamity up to the Prosecution of a War, that he stigmatized with the Epi-

thets of *mad* and *ruinous*. Nor did he spare the *House*, more than the *Administration*; declaring his Conviction that the Majority supported Measures, which only Corruption could induce them to approve. He tempered nevertheless these Ebullitions of patriotic Rage, by Professions of the warmest Attachment to the Person, the Virtues, and the Glory of the reigning Monarch; and unquestionably gave in his first Attempt to address Parliament, an Earnest of those Endowments, which during near forty Years have been exerted in various Ways for the public Benefit, either in the House of Commons, or in the House of Peers.

To return to Pitt.—All Men beheld in him at once a future Minister; and the Opposition, overjoyed at such an Accession of Strength, vied with each other in their Encomiums, as well as in their Predictions of his certain Elevation. Burke exclaimed, that “he was not merely a Chip of the old Block, but, the old Block itself.” Nor did Fox do less Justice to the Talents of this new Competitor for Power, Popularity, and Employment. Having carried him to Brookes’s Club, a few Days afterwards, Pitt

was elected a Member of that Society ; which then comprehended almost all the Men of Rank and great Talents throughout the Kingdom, who were engaged in parliamentary Opposition to Ministers. It is a Fact, that Pitt remained during several Years, a Member of Brookes's ; but he rarely, if ever, appeared there, after he came into Office. So nice was his Tact, so deep his Penetration, and in so different a Mould was he cast from Fox, that even on his first Reception in St. James's-Street, though it was of the most flattering Description, he was not dazzled nor won by it. On the contrary, he held back, and never coalesced with that Party, beyond external Appearances. Fox himself soon perceived the Coldness of his new Ally, for whom Play had no Attractions, and who beheld a Faro Table without Emotion : though neither he nor Burke were probably aware of the profound and regulated, but, soaring Ambition, which animated him to aspire, without passing through any intermediate Stage, to occupy the first Employments of the State. Still less could they apprehend or foresee, that he would form during the greater Part of their future Lives, the principal and insur

mountable Bar to their own Attainment, or permanent Enjoyment, of Office.

Mr. Pitt, when he thus rose for the first Time, represented the Borough of Appleby in Westmoreland, and was indebted for his Seat in the House, to Sir James Lowther; whose Property and parliamentary Influence, which, in the Counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland were immense, enabled him to bring seven or eight Members into that Assembly. Sir James was rewarded by Mr. Pitt, for this, and for other Services, with an English Earldom, little more than three Years afterwards. But he eagerly embraced the first Occasion which presented itself, to obtain a more independent Seat in Parliament, and to emancipate himself from any Dependance on, or personal Connexion with, the Lowther Family. The matrimonial Alliance of Sir James with Lord Bute, one of whose Daughters he had married; the name of *Lowther*, which had been rendered unpopular, if not odious, by the memorable Contest with the Duke of Portland, in the Beginning of the present Reign; and even the Character of Sir James Lowther himself, tyrannical, overbearing, violent,

and frequently under no Restraint of Temper, or of Reason;—all these combined Motives impelled Mr. Pitt to seek elsewhere, a more independent Title to call himself one of the Representatives of the People; particularly after his Elevation to the Head of the Treasury. He was nevertheless compelled to wait for such an Occasion, till the Dissolution of Parliament in March, 1784; during all which Period he sat for Appleby, even when Chancellor of the Exchequer, under Lord Shelburne's Administration, and afterwards when first Lord of the Treasury. At length, in the Spring of 1784, his ministerial Weight, or, as *Junius* denominates it, “the Spirit of distributing Prebends and “Bishopricks,” rather than his individual Qualities and Interest, enabled him to turn out Lord John Townsend, (then Mr. John Townsend,) and to place himself at the Head of the Poll for the University of Cambridge; an Election, and a Seat, in every Sense gratifying to his Feelings.

It was not, indeed, to the personal Friendship of Sir James Lowther, that he originally owed his Entrance into the House of Commons. He was indebted for that Advantage,

which conducted him with such Rapidity, to the highest Offices of State, principally, if not solely, to the late Duke of Rutland, a Nobleman of nearly the same Age as Mr. Pitt. The early Intimacy which subsisted between them at the University of Cambridge, was cemented by the political Ties that had formerly united their Fathers, the Marquis of Granby, and the Earl of Chat-ham, during the Reign of George the Second. As every Circumstance, connected with the public Life and Career of such a Man as Mr. Pitt, becomes interesting; I shall relate from my own personal Knowledge, some Facts not undeserving of Commemoration, upon this Subject.

Among the Persons who were admitted to the Familiarity of the late Duke of Rutland, and who had Access to him at almost all Hours, about this Time, was a Man of the Name of Kirkpatrick, then well known on the Turf at Newmarket. Possessing a small Property at Penrith, in the County of Cumberland, within a few Miles of Lowther Hall, he was much protected by Sir James Lowther, with whom he maintained a constant and habitual Intercourse. The Duke

and Sir James, both, treated him as a Sort of Buffoon, who diverted them by his Eccentricities; and he was frequently employed between them, on private Errands or Messages. During the Autumn of the Year 1780, the Duke dispatched Kirkpatrick from his House in Arlington-street, to Sir James Lowther, who resided in Charles-street, Berkeley-square; with a verbal Request, that “ Sir James would do him the Favour, if “ possible, to reserve a Seat among his Bo-
“ roughs, for a Friend of the Duke’s, Mr.
“ William Pitt, a younger Son of the Earl
“ of Chatham.” Kirkpatrick has often related to me, the Particulars of his Interview and Conversation with Sir James Lowther, whom he found in the Act of shaving himself. “ Well, Kirk,” for so he was always denominated; said Sir James, “ what may
“ be your Business?” “ I am come from
“ Arlington-street,” answered he, “ with a
“ Message to you from the Duke.” “ What
“ are his Commands?” replied Sir James.
“ He requests that you will oblige him, by
“ reserving a Seat for a Friend of his, Mr.
“ Pitt, Lord Chatham’s Brother, a young
“ Gentleman of vast Abilities, whom the
“ Duke wishes to bring into Parliament.”

“ I wish he had sent sooner to me ;” returned he ; “ Is he very anxious about it, Kirk ?” “ Exceedingly so, you may be assured.” “ Then go back to the Duke,” was his Reply, “ and tell him that I will see him in “ the Course of this Day, and we will talk “ the Matter over together.” Kirkpatrick carried back the Answer : Sir James Lowther and the Duke of Rutland having met, the eventual Consequence of their Interview was, that Mr. Pitt came in for Appleby. Not, however, at the General Election which took place in September, 1780 ; Mr. William Lowther, the present Earl of Lonsdale, having succeeded in making his Election for Carlisle, as well as for Appleby, vacated his Seat for the latter Place, after the Meeting of Parliament, and Mr. Pitt was then returned for that Borough. This Event did not happen before the Beginning of 1781, towards the Close of January, when he took the Oaths and his Seat. He remained silent about four Weeks, before he rose and pronounced his first Speech.

Having been brought up, as is universally known, to the Profession of the Law, he went the Western Circuit, as a Barrister, in

the Spring of the Year 1780. But he unquestionably meditated very early in Life, a shorter, and more brilliant, though perhaps not a less laborious, Mode of attaining to personal and political Elevation. He could not be ignorant of the prodigious Powers with which Nature had endowed him; which Talents, his Father, who must equally have perceived them, had cultivated with the utmost Care. A Son of the great Earl of Chatham, so gifted by Providence, however narrow might be his Fortune, yet could not experience much Difficulty in procuring Entrance into the House of Commons; and never was any Juncture more propitious for his surmounting all the ordinary Impediments in the Way to high Employment. In 1781, Lord North palpably and evidently verged towards his Extinction as first Minister. With him, it was obvious, all his Colleagues in the Cabinet must pass away, and a new Order of Things would arise. America having nearly effected her Emancipation from British Supremacy, Peace, it was probable, would follow that Event, at no great Distance of Time. The King was in a very high Degree unpopular; while Fox had become an Object of general Attach-

ment throughout the Country, in Defiance of his Excesses, principally by the steady Opposition which he had given to the American War. But, both those Circumstances rendered him odious to His Majesty, who disliked his political Principles, and reprobated his personal Irregularities. Lord Rockingham, and the Duke of Portland, though mild, virtuous, and respectable Individuals, were only great Names, and Heads of a Party. It was impossible for the Sovereign, even if he had wished it, to call the Duke of Grafton back to Office; Lord Bute himself would have been less obnoxious to the Country. No Individual in either House of Parliament, except Lord Shelburne, remained therefore, who could rationally aspire to succeed Lord North, unless by Violence, and against the King's Inclination.

Mr. Pitt's Youth might indeed seem at first Sight, an insurmountable Impediment to his being placed in a Cabinet Office, without first passing through the intermediate Stages. But, common Rules and Precedents did not apply to him, whose hereditary Claims to national Regard, as the

living Representative of that great Minister who had humbled the House of Bourbon, disposed all Men to consider him with Predilection. Mr. Fox derived no such moral Inheritance from his Father; whose Memory, far from being embalmed in the Veneration of the English People, laboured on the contrary, under Imputations of Peculation the most generally diffused. There existed therefore, no solid Obstacle to Mr. Pitt's speedy Attainment, even of the greatest Ministerial Situations, in the Course of a very short Time. And when we contemplate the Range of his Mind, the very limited Fortune that he possessed, the Coldness of his Constitution, the Dominion which he exercised over his Passions, the Expansion of his Intellect, the Splendor of his Eloquence, and the immeasurable Ambition or Thirst of Power which impelled him; we may give him Credit for having, almost as soon as he came into Parliament, foreseen, anticipated, and confidently calculated on, his soon reaching the Object of his Exertions.

[March.] Sheridan, on the other Hand, notwithstanding the Extent and Variety of his En-

dowments, which many Persons may perhaps consider to have been even superior to those of Mr. Pitt himself; did not instantly take Possession of the House in the same commanding Manner. The Reason was obvious. Though Sheridan manifested, from the first Time that he presented himself to public Notice as a Speaker, the greatest Talents for Debate; yet he found many Impediments, Prejudices, and Obstacles, to surmount in his Progress. His theatrical Connexions, as Manager of Drury Lane, exposed him to Attacks, which a Man of less Wit, Suavity of Disposition, and ascertained Spirit, could not have parried. Many Persons thought, perhaps very illiberally, that a Member of the Legislature should not be the Conductor of a public Theatre. At this vulnerable Part, Malevolence or Satire directed its Blows, before Sheridan was scarcely seated in the House. I remember an Instance of it which took Place during the Debate of the 26th of February, when Pitt first presented himself to public Notice. Courtenay, one of the two Members for Tamworth, who was then Secretary to the Master General of the Ordnance, (Lord Townsend,) possessed a very uncommon and eccentric

Species of Humour; original, classic, even Attic; allied to, and sustained by Learning; inexhaustible, and often irresistible in its Effect on the Muscles: but, always coarse, frequently licentious, or at least, indecorous; and rarely under a becoming Restraint. His Wit seemed indeed more adapted to a Tavern, or to a convivial Board, than to the grave Deliberations of such an Assembly as the House of Commons. Scarcely will the Fact obtain Belief, yet it is not the less true, that Courtenay ventured to cite in the Course of one of his Speeches, some of the most exceptionable Lines in Prior's "*Paulo Pur-ganti*," without being called to Order. Ridicule constituted his never failing Arm, which he wielded with inconceivable Facility, though without Grace or Elegance. Having directed this Engine against Burke's Bill for the Reduction of the Civil List; and held up the Measure to Contempt or Derision, under many ingenious Points of View, as being equally nugatory, fallacious; and unbecoming a great Nation to adopt; Sheridan reprehended him for thus introducing a Style of Debate altogether unbecoming the Gravity of a legislative Body, convened to deliberate on great national

Objects or Interests. No sooner had he sat down, than Courtenay, who was not easily disconcerted, rising in his Place, observed, that “ the Honorable Gentleman “ seemed to be inimical to Mirth and to “ Wit, *in any House except his own.*” This Allusion, which did not admit of being misunderstood, and which touched upon Sheridan’s Histrionic or Dramatic Occupations; would probably, in Defiance of his characteristic Equality of Mind, have provoked some Reply, perhaps a severe or acrimonious Retort, if the Speaker, apprehensive of the Consequence, had not interposed his Authority, and interdicted the further Prosecution of such Personalities. Pitt afterwards attempted, with even worse Success than Courtenay, to renew a similar Mode of Annoyance:—for, it could deserve no other Epithet. Sheridan however not only repelled, but repulsed his Antagonist, though then seated on the Treasury Bench, in the Plenitude of ministerial Power.

While we are contemplating the Outset in Parliament of these two celebrated Men; it would be unfair not to recollect that Mr. Pitt, when he rose for the first Time, spoke

in Reply. Sheridan, who, though he had previously risen two or three Times in the House, may be said to have commenced his Career on the fifth of March, by introducing three Motions, respecting “ the Interference “ of an armed Force in suppressing the “ Riots of June, 1780 ;” must naturally have arranged his Ideas with more Order and Precision, than it was possible to do in Answer to a preceding Speech. In fact, he won his Way by superior Talent, good Humor, and Argument, which enabled him to triumph over every Difficulty. Mr. Pitt might be said to descend, as from an Eminence, on the House. Sheridan laboured up Hill, with slow, but uniform Pace, sustained altogether by his own prodigious Abilities, admirable Wit, and insuperable Command of Temper, all which were powerfully seconded by Fox’s steady Friendship. His Father, though a Man of Genius, could lend him no Assistance. Old Sheridan was, on the contrary, in such contracted Circumstances, as to have been compelled, for his Support, some Years after the Period of which I am now speaking, to give Lectures, at a very low Price, on dramatic Elocution or Declamation, at a public Room, in Ger-

rard-street, Soho. Henderson, the celebrated Actor, was, I believe, his Co-adjutor in this Species of Exhibition.

No Individual in my Time, Burke himself not excepted, owed less to Fortune, or was more indebted to Nature, for his vast Reputation and Success, than Sheridan. He did not, however, succeed in the Object of his Speech, which evidently meant to throw a severe, though an indirect Censure, on the Sovereign, as well as on the Administration, for issuing those Orders which had rescued London from the last Effects of Violence and Outrage. With great Severity he inveighed against the miserable Police of Westminster, as altogether inadequate to the Protection of its Inhabitants; and he attempted to criminate the Ministers for not having come down to the House, and demanded a Bill of Indemnity for their Conduct, in calling to their Assistance the military Force. Throughout his whole Address to Parliament on this Occasion, he was temperate, measured, argumentative, and impressive: but, unlike his general Style of Declamation, he neither had Recourse to Wit, to Ridicule, or Satire, as Auxiliaries. Lord North did Justice to the

Ability, as Fox did, in animated Language, to the Energy and Elegance of Sheridan's Speech. It was seconded by Colonel Fitzpatrick, who treated the Mobs of June, 1780, as a contemptible Assemblage of unarmed and undisciplined Rabble, only rendered formidable by the pusillanimous or criminal Inactivity of the civil Magistrates. The Riots themselves, which he had been personally called on to quell, he denominated a "*Guerre des Pots de Chambre*," in which a Soldier could only find Subject of Mortification: adding, that to suppose the military Power capable of overturning the Constitution, at the Order of the Sovereign, was a Libel on the Profession. The first Minister, in his Reply, observed, that while protecting the Persons, and securing the Property of His Majesty's Subjects, attacked by a lawless, fanatical, or infuriated Populace, he felt no Dread of a Prosecution. Whenever any such legal Attack should be made on him, for having authorized the Troops to act against the Rioters, it would be Time enough to apply to Parliament on the Business. Meanwhile he disdained either to demand, or to accept, Indemnity for an Act, which, he was conscious, merited the highest Com-

mendation. The House rejected, by a Majority of seventy-seven Votes, the only one of Sheridan's three Motions that he ventured to submit to a Division. It may indeed justly excite some Astonishment, that any Body of Men should attempt to call into Question, the Rectitude and Propriety of a Measure, only applied at the last Extremity, in order to rescue the Capital from inevitable Conflagration, and public Credit from total Subversion. But, never were the Powers of Government fallen into such Debility, as towards the Close of the American War. Nor ever did Opposition venture to treat Pitt, or Addington, or Perceval, with the contumelious Personality, which Fox and Burke used toward Lord North, on a Variety of Occasions.

That Minister, though supported by a Parliament newly elected, yet was by no means Master of its Deliberations. He retained, indeed, a Majority, which might be esteemed considerable; but, it was nevertheless fluctuating, precarious, and destitute of Confidence in their Leader. The Minority, on the contrary, who augmented, every Month, in Numbers and Animation, con-

sidered the Termination of the American War, as the Term of the Existence of the Administration ; and they already predicted, as well as anticipated with Certainty, the ill Success of Lord Cornwallis's Expedition against the Southern Provinces. Notwithstanding, indeed, some faint Gleams of Hope and of Success, which appeared in the Spring of 1781 ; few, except the most sanguine, continued to expect the Reduction of America to Obedience, by the British Arms. Emboldened by the disastrous State of foreign Affairs, and availing themselves of the Unpopularity of the Ministry, the Opposition attacked in the severest Terms, Lord North's financial Measures. The Loan which he had recently negotiated, having risen suddenly to a prodigious Præmium, became a Subject of bitter Invective, as profuse, improvident, and constituting a systematic Engine of Parliamentary Corruption. And though it was maintained by a Majority of more than fifty Votes ; yet the Impression ultimately produced by Opposition, both in, and out of the House, announced an approaching Crisis, however it might still be suspended or protracted by a Variety of Events.

[7th--13th March]. During more than sixteen Months that I sate in Parliament under Lord North's Administration, I recollect indeed no Attack so personally painful and invidious made on him, as the Enquiry instituted relative to the Loan of twelve Millions which he borrowed at this Time. All the other Charges or Accusations brought forward, regarded the *Minister*. The present Discussion was levelled at the *Individual*. Fox maintained, not only that the Terms of the Loan were in themselves culpably extravagant on the Part of the first Lord of the Treasury; but, he roundly asserted, many Times, while addressing the House, that some Hundred Thousand Pounds, arising from the Profit on the Sum borrowed, were distributed in that Assembly. It was by such corrupt Means, he added, that a Majority was obtained upon every Question; and from such Sources, that the recent Expences incurred by Gentlemen at the late general Election, were to be defrayed. George Byng, Member for Middlesex, a Man of very honorable Character and upright Intentions; but, of an ardent Temper, very limited Talents, and devoted to the Rockingham Party; reiterated Fox's Allegations in still more

pointed Language. “ I believe, from my
“ Soul,” exclaimed he, “ that six Hundred
“ Thousand Pounds have been distributed
“ among the Members of this Assembly ;—I
“ mean, to those who uniformly support all
“ the Ministerial Measures !” Another leading Individual on the Opposition Bench, Sir Philip Jennings Clerke, assured the House that he was credibly informed, Mr. Atkinson, a Contractor well known beyond Temple Bar, Partner in the commercial House of Muir, had received for his own Share, no less than Three Millions, three Hundred Thousand Pounds of the Loan. Hussey, Member for Salisbury, who, though a dull Debater, destitute of all the Graces of Elocution, tedious, and labouring under Impediments of Enunciation, yet thoroughly understood all financial Questions, and never attempted to speak upon any other Subjects ;—Hussey, by a long, laboured Calculation, endeavoured Arithmetically to demonstrate, that the Principles on which the Bargain had been concluded, were radically vicious, as well as ruinous to the Public. Sir George Savile, whose high Character and large Property secured him always a favorable Hearing, called on the House not to

sanction or to ratify so censurable a Measure of Finance.

Burke, after repeating the vague Assertions made by Fox and Byng, of the Sums swallowed up among Members of Parliament, who, he said, were gorged with Places, Pensions, and pecuniary Gratifications; proceeded to draw an eloquent Comparison between Lord North and Necker. "The former Minister," continued he, "has in Fact augmented the Capital Debt of the Country at this Time, by twenty-one Millions of Stock; while Mr. Necker has only added about five Millions Sterling, by his late Loan, to the public Debt of France. The noble Lord lays on new Taxes to pay the Interest of his Loan. Not so the French Financier. He contrives by Reductions and Economy, to find the Interest, without imposing new Burthens on the People. Necker borrows on Lives. Our Minister, on Perpetuities. Louis the Sixteenth's Superintendant of the Finances, has moreover ten Millions Sterling in Reserve for the Exigencies of the approaching Year. But, where are our Resources for future Years?"—Then ab-

ruptly interrupting the Thread of his own Comparison, “ Oh! happy France,” exclaimed he, “ blest in her Minister! Unfortunate England in her Financier! The Difference between the two Countries, arises “ solely from the Corruption of Parliament.” Mixing nevertheless, as he usually did, Railery and Humour with Severity, he convulsed the House, and shook Lord North’s Sides with Laughter, by comparing the thin, lean Member of Parliament, on his first coming into the House, to the *Vulpercula* or Weazel of Æsop, who afterwards becomes so large and sleek, as to be unable to effect his Retreat. Then stroking his own Stomach, he contrasted it with Lord North’s

“ Fair round Belly, with good Capon lined,”

to the inexpressible Entertainment of his Audience, though perhaps it may be thought, at the Expence of their Senatorial Character and Dignity. Mr. Byng, who throughout this whole Enquiry, performed an active Part, and by his indefatigable Exertions to discover the real Holders of the new Loan, rendered himself not only conspicuous, but, important; concluded a very impassioned and criminating Speech, by making three

Motions. The first, that a List of all the Subscribers to the new Loan, should be laid before the House. The second, for a correct List of all the Individuals who had offered to subscribe, but, were rejected. The last, (of a Nature probably without Precedent in the Journals of Parliament,) demanded Copies of all the Letters, Notes, and other Applications which had been addressed, not only to the first Lord of the Treasury ; but, to any of the Lords Commissioners of that Board, to the Secretaries, or to any other Person by whom Applications for a Part of the Loan, had been transmitted to Lord North. With these Evidences before him, Mr. Byng undertook to prove the Minister's Guilt. In Order to enforce Compliance with so extraordinary a Demand, he joined Menaces that the People of England, worn out by Oppression, would bear no more Burthens ; and that the Day of Retribution which impended, would infallibly take Place sooner than was expected.

The first Minister, thus assailed from so many Quarters, and by such powerful Opponents, did not on that Account abandon himself. Calm, collected, conscious of his

own Rectitude, though surrounded by Difficulties that accumulated from Day to Day, he made a masterly Defence of the Loan that he had just negotiated. While he admitted, and regretted, that the Terms might have been more advantageous to the Public, leaving still a moderate Profit to the Contractors; he denied that the slightest Partiality had been used in apportioning the Sums respectively allotted to each Bidder. He disproved the Story of Atkinson's receiving so monstrous a Portion of the Loan; and justified the Admission of Members of Parliament who were Men of Property, to become, like other opulent Individuals, Subscribers to it. In Conclusion he made no Objection to producing the List of Subscribers demanded by Opposition: but, to the second and third Motions he gave a decided Negative. "The Honorable Member for Middlesex," said he, "after accusing me of Partiality, makes rather a singular Requisition; 'Deliver up to me the Keys of your Scrutoire. Allow me to empty all your Drawers, to inspect your most secret Papers, and to peruse every Letter that I can find. When this is done, and I am become possessed of all the Information that they furnish, then I will

“ proceed to examine whether or not I can
“ produce any Charge against you.’ So ex-
“ traordinary a Proposition I cannot doubt,
“ will never receive the Sanction of this
“ Assembly.” These Arguments, however
strong or convincing they may perhaps ap-
pear to us after the Lapse of near forty
Years, produced no Impression on the Mi-
nority of that Day. From a Variety of
Quarters Lord North was overwhelmed with
Reproaches, Threats, and Reclamations.
Byng denied his Right to withhold the
Keys of his Bureau, which, as he asserted,
belonged to the Public; the first Lord of
the Treasury being a great national Ac-
comptant. Fox loaded him with Charges
of corrupting Parliament, while he withheld
the only effectual Means of proving his Cul-
pability, and demonstrating his Guilt. On
the Members who supported so criminal
a Minister, Charles was, if possible, even
more severe. “ They begin,” said he, “ by
“ taking the Money out of the Pockets of
“ the People, in Order to put it into their
“ own; and they finish, by making bad
“ Loans for the Public, to the End that they
“ may arrange good Terms for themselves.”

When the List of Subscribers to the Loan

was produced, though the greater Number of the Names of Members of the House who were *Holders of Scrip*, still remained in Concealment, their respective Shares being ostensibly vested in other Hands; yet many appeared in the Catalogue. Even two Peers, one of whom was a Lord of the Bed-chamber and an Earl, were down for 10,000*l.* each. But, no Individual possessing a Seat in the House of Commons, whose Name was there registered, ventured to justify it on his Legs in a manly Manner, except Mr. Courtenay, who stood for the Sum of 10,000*l.* George Byng having asserted in the Course of his Speech, that “those Members of Parliament who avowedly appeared on the List, “were infinitely more honest and upright “than the Men who skulked in the dark;” Courtenay took Notice of this Observation. “As I have the Honour, Mr. Speaker,” said he, “to come from a Country, where “weak Nerves and a false Modesty are not “characteristic Maladies, my Name stands “conspicuous on the Roll. And I can assure the Honorable Gentleman that the “only Concern I feel on the Occasion, “is on Account of the small Sum against “which my Name is placed.” There were

individual Members of the lower House, not Bankers by Profession, who stood separately on the List, for 50,000*l.*; seven, for 70,000*l.* each; and one Instance of 100,000*l.*

Mr. Thomas Townsend expended his patriotic Rage on Atkinson, whom he termed a universal Contractor, fit for every Service; and who would probably soon be seated by the noble Lord's Side, on the Treasury Bench, among his finest Coadjutors. This Circumstance did in Fact take Place to a certain Degree, about three Years afterwards, in 1784, when Pitt was become first Minister, and Mr. Townsend, (raised to the Peerage, by the Title of Lord Sydney,) filled the Post of Secretary of State. Atkinson was then seen almost daily on the Treasury Bench. So little can Politicians foresee the Changes produced by Time, Ambition, and the Mutability of human Affairs!—After a stormy Debate, protracted to a late Hour, Byng's *second* Motion was only negatived by a slender Majority of *thirty-one* Votes. On so precarious a Basis did Lord North's Power repose; even in the first Session of a new Parliament! The Attendance was not however very numerous upon either Side;

Opposition mustering only 106 on that Night, while Government found 137 Supporters.

[14th—26th March.] The List of Subscribers to the new Loan having been laid on the Table of the House, Opposition, emboldened by their last Division, made another desperate Attack on the ministerial Trenches; hoping that even if they could not carry them by Storm, they might succeed in vilifying and degrading the first Minister himself personally, in the Estimation of Parliament and of the Country. It proved indeed one of the most humiliating and painful Days to Lord North, that took Place during the Course of his long Administration. Sir George Savile, selected for the Occasion, though labouring under evident Indisposition, and just risen from a sick Bed, opened the Discussion in the invidious Character of an Accuser. His Speech concluded by a Motion “to appoint a select Committee for enquiring into the Facts connected with the late Loan, and to report on them to the House.” But, though the Distinction of thus commencing the Debate was delegated to Sir George, the Task of proving his Assertions, and embodying, as

well as identifying his Accusations, rested with Mr. Byng, who performed on that Occasion the Part of an Inquisitor of State. Holding the List of Subscribers in his Hand, he undertook to demonstrate that the Paper itself was altogether a Piece of ministerial Deception, calculated, under fictitious Names, to conceal the Members of both Houses, who did not dare to avow the Share respectively allotted to them in this most iniquitous Loan. With considerable Ability, prodigious Labour, and minute Investigation, he endeavoured to lay open to general View, and to expose to general Condemnation, the secret Machinery by which Robinson and Brummell moved the great State Machine, denominated Parliament; and the Puppets, as he termed them, commonly called Representatives. He even ventured to appeal across the House, to Mr. Henry Drummond, one of the most eminent Bankers of that Period, for the Accuracy of the Names of Clerks employed in his Service, who ostensibly held Subscriptions to the Amount of near four hundred and forty thousand Pounds, in the Loan. Drummond, who sat behind the first Lord of the Treasury, nodded Assent, as Byng severally recapitu-

lated them; while Lord North, compelled to remain a passive Witness and Spectator of this Disclosure before a crowded House of Commons, did not exhibit the dignified Aspect or Attitude befitting his high Station. I never saw him apparently less at his Ease; not even in the Session of 1782, after the Intelligence of Lord Cornwallis's Surrender at York Town, or during the last Days that he remained in Office.

Not that he wanted Defenders of consummate Ability, who undertook to justify the Transaction, at the Head of whom must be placed the Lord Advocate. Aware that the Occasion demanded all his Talents, and ever ready to throw himself into the Front Ranks when the Emergency called for it, Dundas seemed to collect all his Powers on that Day. Divested of those fastidious Scruples to which Men of more susceptible Organization are liable, he boldly avowed or admitted the Selection made by the first Minister; which required, he said, no Apology whatever, either to the House, or to the Country. After pointing out the Integrity and Incorruptibility of his noble Friend, as a Fact universally conceded, he demanded,

on what Principle, Members of either House of Parliament were to be excluded from subscribing on the present Occasion ; or why, *cæteris paribus*, Friends should not be preferred to Enemies? The Concealment of their Names, he observed, proved only the Weakness of their Nerves, not the Impropriety of the Act itself. Referring to the established Precedents of past Periods of Time, he maintained that such had been the invariable Usage under all Administrations ; and concluded a bold, able, unembarrassed Harangue, delivered in a Tone and Manner calculated to give it the fullest Effect, by deprecating all Interference of the House, as equally unwise, and pernicious in its Operation. Fox rising as Dundas sate down, displayed on that Evening, the vast Extent of his Talents, while he dissected with admirable Perspicuity, the Loan under Discussion ; which he endeavoured to demonstrate, was at once profuse, corrupt, and ruinous to the Nation. He denied the Insinuation, (as it might be termed, rather than the Assertion,) of the Lord Advocate, in maintaining that former Ministers had manifested a similar Partiality, or had negotiated Loans on similar Principles : making only one Exception,

namely, that of Lord Bute in 1762, which financial Measure he loaded with the severest Epithets. On Lord North he exhausted his Invectives, as “ a Minister highly criminal
“ for grossly deceiving, and fraudulently im-
“ posing on Parliament; whose Baseness in
“ concealing the real Terms on which he had
“ just borrowed twelve Millions, could only
“ be surpassed by his Guilt in concluding
“ them.”

The first Minister repelled these Accusations with Temper; explained every Part of the Proceedings which had attended his Negotiation with the Contractors for the Loan; denied that either Profusion or Corruption could be attributed to him; and finally threw himself on the Candor, good Sense, and Honor of the House, to maintain inviolate the Bargain. Towards one o’Clock in the Morning, a Division took Place. The Attendance was full, above 370 Members being present; of which Number, Opposition had 163, while Government was supported by 209. It was nevertheless a Triumph dearly won, because the Minority carried with them public Opinion, which was generally adverse to the Terms of the Loan. Yet we have witnessed under Mr.

Pitt's Administration, during the Course of the revolutionary War, in 1795, as well as in other Years, Loans, where the Præmium has risen to nine, and even to ten per Cent, immediately after the Conclusion of the Bargain, without any Imputations of Improvidence or of Corruption being thrown upon the first Minister on that Account. But, the Misfortunes and the Unpopularity of the American War had reached such a Point in 1781, as to incapacitate Lord North from prosecuting it, without having Recourse to Expedients, from the Necessity of adopting which Mr. Pitt was exempted. He carried the Nation with him, when contending against Robespierre and Bonaparte. Lord North's only Support lay in the Crown. No Prince indeed, of a less firm and tenacious Character than George the Third, could have sustained him in Office during the last four Years that he occupied the Post of first Lord of the Treasury, amidst accumulating Difficulties, Humiliations, and Disasters, from 1778 down to 1782. His Predecessor yielded to far inferior Symptoms of public Dissatisfaction, and to far inferior national Calamities, when, in 1757, he reluctantly called to his Councils, a Man distasteful to him, but, forced into Power by the universal

Voice of the Country. If Fox had stood as high in general Estimation as the first Mr. Pitt, he would have been carried into the Closet on the Shoulders of the People: but, his personal Irregularities and Excesses balanced his parliamentary Talents, and prolonged Lord North's Administration.

While the Opposition endeavoured to degrade, if they could not overturn the first Minister, by criminating his financial Measures; two simultaneous Efforts were made, with a View to weaken his Strength, and to diminish his Numbers within the Walls of the House. Sir Philip Jennings Clerke, a Man of unquestionable Integrity, but, not endowed with superior Parts, introduced a Bill for the Exclusion of Contractors from sitting in Parliament: while on the same Day, Mr. Crewe, then Representative for the County of Chester, (since raised to the Peerage by Fox, in 1806,) moved the second Reading of a Bill, to restrain Revenue Officers from voting at Elections of Members to serve in that House. Both Motions were negatived: but, not by similar Majorities. The first failed of Success only by *twenty* Votes, the Numbers being 100, and 120, re-

spectively, after a Debate of considerable Length: but, the Attempt to deprive Revenue Officers of their elective Franchise, was rejected by *forty-seven*, without giving Rise to any long or animated Discussion. Ministers divided 133 on the Question; Mr. Crewe had only 86 Votes. Sir Philip Clerke's Blow was levelled at the *Elected*. Mr. Crewe directed his Aim at the *Electors*. In the ensuing Session, when the Marquis of Rockingham had attained to the Head of the Treasury, the two Experiments were renewed with very different Results.

I cannot too often repeat, while dwelling on this Period of our History, that no Virtues of the Sovereign, however eminent, and no Ability of Administration, however recognized, could stem the Unpopularity of the American War. With the two Exceptions of Johnson and of Gibbon, the former of whom defended in Print, the Measures of Government, in the Beginning of the Contest; and the latter, after drawing up the Manifesto issued against Spain in 1779, voted, as a Member of the House of Commons, in Support of Lord North, throughout the whole Progress of Hostilities; all the emi-

nent or shining Talents of the Country, led on by Burke, were marshalled in Support of the Colonies. The Aid of Poetry alone seemed wanting to compleat the Delusion ; or at least, the Impression. Let us see how the admired Author of the " Heroic Epistle to Sir William Chambers," expresses himself on this Subject. After describing, in Verses of admirable Beauty, the pretended Corruption of the House of Commons under Lord North's Administration, he declares that it will augment in Enormity and Profligacy,

" 'Till mock'd and jaded with the Puppet Play,
Old England's Genius turns with Scorn away ;
Ascends his sacred Bark, the Sails unfurl'd,
And steers his State to the wide Western World.
High on the Helm majestic Freedom stands,
In Act of cold Contempt she waves her Hands :
Take, Slaves, she cries, the Realms that I disown,
Renounce your Birth Right, and destroy my Throne!"

Who, on reading these Lines, would not think them composed for James the Second and his Lord Chancellor Jefferies, rather than for George the Third and Lord North! Just at this time, the Marriage of Lord Althorpe, (the present Earl Spencer,) with Miss Lavinia Bingham, took Place ; an

Event which I only mention incidentally, as it gave Birth to one of the most beautiful lyric Productions in the English Language. Mr. Jones, better known afterwards as Sir William Jones, emulating at once the Fame of Milton and of Gray, in “The Muse recalled,” reminded us of some of the most touching Passages of “Lycidas,” and of “The Bard.” He, too, lent his powerful Assistance to the Cause of Rebellion. Like *Goldsmith*, who, ten Years earlier, erroneously assumed in his “Deserted Village,” as the Basis of his Poem, that Population and rural Happiness were abandoning England; Jones carried his Assumption in our Disfavor, to a still greater Length. Juvenal, though he wrote under Domitian, only asserts that female Modesty and Justice withdrew from Earth to Heaven, after the Extinction of Saturn’s Reign :

“ Paulatim deinde ad Superos Astræa recessit,
Hac Comite, atque duæ pariter fugere Sorores.”

But, Jones, after lamenting that “Freedom
“and Concord repudiate the Sons of Albion,” carries off all the Virtues from this degenerate Island :

“ Truth, Justice, Reason, Valour, with them fly,
To seek a purer Soil, a more congenial Sky.”

And to what Country did they direct their Flight? Impelled by the Prejudice which then prevailed, and borne on the Wings of poetic Fiction, as well as of Party Violence, he transports these Virtues to the Chesapeake, and the Delaware:

“ Beyond the vast Atlantic Deep,
A Dome by viewless Genii shall be rais’d,
The Walls of Adamant, compact and steep,
The Portals with sky-tinctured Gems emblaz’d.

There on a lofty Throne shall *Virtue* stand:
To her the Youth of *Delaware* shall kneel;
And when her Smiles rain Plenty o’er the Land,
Bow, *Tyrants*, bow beneath th’ avenging Steel!”

Here, in a fine Frenzy of Inspiration, he seems to behold as in a Vision, the modern *Washington*, and the Congress met, after successfully throwing off all Subjection to Great Britain. George the Third is pretty clearly designated in the last Line, apostrophizing Tyrants. It was not, however, Civil Liberty, but Independence on the Mother Country; it was not Freedom, but Emancipation from the parent Stock, that America emulated to attain by Arms. She might

have been admitted to participate in the Blessings of our free Constitution; but she must then have paid her pecuniary Debts to British Subjects, all which became liquidated in the Crucible of Insurrection. Burke, within ten Years after the Conclusion of the American War, found out his Error, when he beheld the French Revolution spring from the Ashes of Hancock and Adams. He then endeavoured, as he said, “to trim the Boat at the other End.” Mr. Fox never could discover any thing wrong, either in the one, or in the other Revolution. We have lived to behold the virtuous American Government, within thirty Years from the Period of their Emancipation, voluntarily become the Accomplices and Allies of the most sanguinary, flagitious, and obdurate Tyrant, who ever appeared among Men. We have seen this virtuous People yoke themselves to his Car, when he was setting out for Moscow in 1812, in Opposition to the united Struggles of all Europe for Deliverance; thus endeavouring, as far as their Power extended, to cement by our Destruction, his detestable Empire. Madison, unlike Thrasybulus or Brutus, only aspired to uphold and perpetuate the Dominion of

his Corsican Master. It will demand Ages to wipe out the Stain of such national Turpitude, from the American Annals. But, under Lord North's Administration, the Insurgents beyond the Atlantic, were generally seen through the most partial and favorable Medium: while Philip the Second, in his Attempt to extinguish all the Rights of human Nature among his Subjects in the Netherlands, was hardly stigmatized with severer Epithets, than the Opposition applied to the King of Great Britain.

The Consideration of East India Affairs, which formed one of the most important Objects of the Session, engrossed universal Attention. As early as February, a *Select* Committee having been appointed, ostensibly for the exclusive Purpose of reporting on the State and Abuses of the Supreme Court of Judicature in Bengal, General Richard Smith was placed at their Head, as Chairman. His local Knowledge of India, seemed to qualify him in some Measure for the Situation. He had acquired a large Fortune, while in that Part of the World; but, which, he was supposed to have squandered since his Return. Though destitute of the

Advantages of Education, he did not by any means want Parts; and he displayed some Talent in addressing the House. But, as the Committee allowed themselves to become subservient to the Purposes of Party, and particularly to be made the Instrument of personal Enmities or Resentments, they soon degenerated into an Engine of private Attack, and of individual Persecution.

The Opposition, as if exhausted by the ineffectual and reiterated Efforts made in the lower House of Parliament, during the Month of March, with the Hope of overturning the Administration, allowed the first Minister to enjoy a Degree of comparative Repose throughout the whole of April. But, Intelligence of Hyder Ally's Invasion of the Carnatic, followed by the Defeat of the British Forces under Fletcher and Baillie, which reached London precisely about that Time, spread universal Consternation. In order fully to appreciate the Extent of the Calamity, and its Operation on the public Mind, we must recollect the State of the British Empire, at the Period under our Review. The Fabrick seemed to be everywhere collapsing by its own Weight, or

yielding to external Attack. In the Western Hemisphere, America might be considered as already lost. Many of the Windward and Leeward Islands were reduced to the Obedience of France; and the Remainder, it was thought, must speedily fall. The Possession of Jamaica itself appeared insecure. At Home, the public Funds experienced a progressive Depression; while Ireland taking up Arms, demanded political and commercial Freedom, Sword in Hand. Cadiz and Brest had been crowded with our captured Merchantmen, to whom the English Navy no longer afforded its accustomed Protection. Under these Circumstances, the Eyes and Hopes of all Men were turned towards the East, as the only Quarter from which we might expect Relief. But, there, a Combination of European and Asiatic Enemies, aided by internal Rebellion, and fomented by Discord among the Members of the Supreme Government, threatened the Subversion of our Power on the Ganges, no less than on the Coast of Coromandel. Hastings quitting Calcutta, had repaired to Benares, in order to arrest the Progress of Cheyt Sing's Revolt. At Madras, the Government of Rumbold was

become odious for Rapacity, and despicable from its Incapacity or Pusillanimity. Nor must it be forgotten, that we then neither possessed the Cape of Good Hope, nor Ceylon, nor Guzerat, nor the Island of Mauritius, nor Java, nor the Moluccas. Even the Carnatic belonged, not to us, but to our Confederate, Mahomed Ally, the Nabob of Arcot. With the Mharatta Empire we were at War. The rich Countries of Mysore and of Bidnoor, occupying a central Portion of the Peninsula of Hindostan; extending through several Degrees of Latitude along the Malabar Coast, and intersecting all Communication by Land, between the two Presidencies of Madras and of Bombay;—these Territories, so calculated to annoy us, were then subjected to a martial, enterprising, and active Prince, animated by determined Hostility to the English, assisted by French Engineers, and himself habituated to the European System of Tactics. His Cavalry bursting in through the Defiles of the Mountains of the Ghauts, overran the fertile Plains of the Carnatic and of Tanjore, bearing down all Resistance. Madras itself, invested by the Enemy, was scarcely preserved from falling into Hyder's Possession;

and it must be confessed that the British Dominions in Hindostan, shook to their Foundation.

30th April.] Such was the Impression produced by this unexpected Event, which seemed imperatively to call for Measures of Energy, that it gave Rise to the Appointment of a *Secret* Committee by Ballot in the House of Commons, moved for by the first Minister himself. The Lord Advocate of Scotland, Mr. Dundas, being constituted their Chairman, they were specially charged to inquire into the Causes of the War existing in the Carnatic. Notwithstanding the severe Animadversions levelled by the Opposition, on the Majority of the Names chosen; several of the Members were Men of equal Ability and Integrity; whose luminous, as well as laborious Reports, distinctly pointed out the Origin, and indicated the Remedy, for those Abuses, or Acts of Maladministration, which had produced such complicated Distress on the Coast of Coromandel. Nor did even the Committee of Scrutineers, appointed to examine the Result of the Ballot, escape some acrimonious Remarks on its Composition. Lord North

formed one of its Members, and I was likewise among the Number. Mr. Thomas Townsend observed, when speaking of it, immediately after their Report to the House, that “ the noble Lord in the blue Ribband “ was uncommonly vociferous in naming his “ own Friends, and was likewise, himself, “ nominated a Scrutineer ; a Circumstance “ very extraordinary, if not without Parallel ; the Committee of Scrutiny being, he “ believed, the first in the Annals of Parliament, that ever was honoured with a blue “ Ribband upon it.” Unquestionably, Ministers felt great Anxiety relative to the Individuals who might be elected Members of the Secret Committee, and were not without strong Apprehensions that the Opposition would succeed in forcing into it, some of their own most able or zealous Adherents. Mr. Jenkinson, who stood fourth on the List of Persons chosen, was so impatient to learn the Result of the Scrutiny, that he wrote to me, while we were engaged in the Examination, to request that I would transmit him the Names, as soon as they were ascertained, and could be divulged. Dundas obtained as many Votes as Jenkinson had, namely, 160. But, *Gregory* was placed out of all

Competition, at the Head of the Committee; he uniting the Suffrages of the ministerial, as well as of the Opposition Sides of the House, and being elected by 249 Votes. *Gregory* deserved that mark of Parliamentary Preference, he being a very honorable, incorrupt, independent Man; simple, or rather shy and repulsive in his Manners, unadorned by any Accomplishments of Mind; but, laborious, attentive to Business, and possessing very extensive local Information on East India Concerns. He was one of the two Representatives for the City of Rochester, and a Member of the Court of Directors. Fox, in November, 1783, named him a Commissioner for the Government of India, in his famous *Bill*. I believe, after the Dissolution that took Place in March, 1784, *Gregory* never again obtained a Seat in the House of Commons.

Though strongly attached to Fox and to the Party acting with him, *Gregory* disdained to be considered as a devoted Partizan. I well remember, that about the very Time now under Discussion, in April, 1781, Burke having somewhat rashly pledged, not only his own Support to a Measure under Contem-

plation, but, that of *Gregory*, (whom he denominated “his worthy Friend;”) the latter rising with some Warmth, desired the Honorable Member to limit his Pledges to himself. “I stand,” added he, “connected with no Set of Men, but, will lend my Support where I conceive it to be due, always delivering my Opinion with Freedom; being as independent in my Seat, and in my Principles, as any Individual within these Walls.” Burke, indignant at a Reproof so unexpected and so mortifying, made a sharp, though a short Reply; exclaiming, that “if the Honorable Member thought proper to renounce any Connexion with him, it gave him no Concern.” Mr. Orde, who has since filled many distinguished public Situations, and been elevated to the Peerage, stood ninth upon the List. To *Him*, as I have always understood, was attributed the *fifth* Report from the Committee of Secrecy; one of the most able, well digested, and important Documents ever laid upon the Table of the House of Commons. With the Reserve of *Gregory*, of Mr. Richard Jackson, who was a Friend of the Earl of Shelburne, and of Mr. Yorke, then Member for the County of Cambridge, now Earl of Hard-

wicke, whom even the Opposition admitted to be an unexceptionable Person; all the remaining Individuals composing the Committee, were either Men holding Offices under Government, or personally connected with the Minister. Lord North, in the critical and perilous Condition of the East India Company, unable to obtain from the Proprietors, or from the Court of Directors, such advantageous pecuniary Terms for the Renewal of their Charter, as he thought the Nation was authorized to demand; had recourse to his ordinary Palliative, Procrastination. He renewed the Charter for a very limited Period, only one Year; and by that Measure eventually originated the memorable *Bill* of Fox, towards the Close of 1783, which produced such national Convulsions, terminated by the compleat Destruction of the “Coalition Ministry.”

[8th May.] The Attempts to drive Lord North from Office, which had been in some Measure relaxed or suspended throughout the Month of April, were renewed with augmented Pertinacity in May. But, it was no longer against his Measures of Finance, that Opposition pointed their Blows. Sir George Savile, recovered from his late Indisposition,

re-appeared as the Organ of the Party, and endeavoured to induce the House to adopt anew the memorable Resolution of the 6th of April, 1780, when it was declared that “ the Influence of the Crown has encreased, “ is encreasing, and ought to be diminished.” He no longer found however the same Aptitude to receive those Impressions of Jealousy or Apprehension, which had operated on the Members of the late House of Commons; and after a very long Debate, the Motion made by Sir George, to refer the Petition to a Committee, was rejected by a Majority of seventy-seven Votes. The Attendance nearly amounted to 350; Government dividing 212, while the Minority were 135. Neither Lord North, Lord George Germain, Dundas, nor Jenkinson, spoke during that Evening. On the other Side, Burke remained silent; nor did either Mr. Pitt or Sheridan take any Part in it. Yet, a more important or interesting Discussion I scarcely ever witnessed during the whole Time that I remained in Parliament; nor one, of which, if I were able, I should more anxiously wish to transmit some Idea to future Times. The dangerous Doctrine of a Right existing in the People, to form *Associations*, to appoint *Committees*, and to nominate *Delegates*, for the

Protection of civil Liberty against the Encroachments or Abuse of the royal Power ; a Right, evidently independent of Parliament, as well as subversive of it ;—was fully discussed on that Occasion. Lord Maitland, who then rose, I believe, for the second Time, maintained that the Right not only existed in the legal Sense, and was strictly conformable to the British Constitution ; but, under certain Circumstances might be highly expedient : adding, that to Associations of Men combined for a beneficial Purpose, we were indebted for *Magna Charta*, for the Revolution that expelled James the Second, and for the Introduction of the reigning House of Brunswic. General Burgoyne, after declaring that he had, himself, signed the Petition presented on that Day, in the Capacity of a Delegate ; and inveighing in Language of uncommon Asperity, against the Corruption, or rather, the Prostitution of Parliament at the Feet of Ministers ; reverted to his own individual Sufferings in the Line of his Profession. These, he detailed with great Animation, asserting that “ he was driven unjustly from a Service in “ which he had grown old, by the Machi- “ nations of Power.” He then subjoined,

“ I am now, from my Time of Life, sufficiently disposed to Inactivity. Yet, should the *Exigencies of the People* call me forth from my present Obscurity, or if the *Necessities of the State* should demand the Assistance of my Arm, I am ready either to *act* or to *suffer* in the public Cause.”

This Declaration, which seemed more fitted to 1642, than to 1781; and which *Hampden* or *Pym*, when opposing themselves to the Levy of Ship Money by Prerogative, might have more appropriately made; was, if possible, outdone by Fox. In a Speech of unreasonable Length, but, of great Ability, he justified the Right inherent in himself, and in every Subject, to act as Delegates, no less than as Members of that Assembly. “ I avow myself,” said he, “ a Delegate; and if I had not acted in a delegated Capacity, I should not have applied to this House for Redress. But, out of Deference to the Opinion of some Persons with whom I act, and not from any Doubt of its Legality, I have not petitioned as a Delegate.” Then having panegyricized the Constancy, Incorruptibility, and Perseverance of that patriotic Band

who stood forth in Parliament, the Champions of the British People ; that impenetrable Phalanx, who were neither to be terrified, misled, seduced, nor corrupted by Ministers ; He added, “ I cannot better express myself on this Point, than by adopting and repeating the Words of my honorable Friend ; (Burgoyne,) namely, that as *He* had devoted his Life and Talents to *the People*, so *I*, whenever they call on me, *shall be ready to execute their Commands*, as far as my Acquiescence is authorized by the Laws. I mean, whenever any direct and palpable Inroad is made on those invaluable Blessings secured to us by our happy Constitution.” However guarded and qualified these Expressions may appear, it is impossible not to consider them as revolutionary ; and more suited to a Tribune of the Roman Republic, or to an Agitator of the Times of Cromwell, than to a Member for Westminster, the Subject of George the Third. Such, indeed, they seemed to many Members of the House of Commons, on the Evening when they were used. Such, I believe, they were considered by Burke, who took no Part in the Debate, as he probably would have done, had he thoroughly approved the Principles and Ob-

ject of the Petition. Neither did Pitt rise to support Fox and Burgoyne; a Circumstance much remarked at the Time.

Ministers, though they did not, themselves, undertake their own Defence, but, trusted to the Discernment, Loyalty, and good Sense of the House, for rejecting the specious Propositions of Reform submitted to them; yet by no means wanted Advocates to point out the insidious and dangerous Spirit of Discontent and Insubordination, concealed under the Declarations of Fox and Burgoyne. Sir Horace Mann protested his Detestation of all Associations and Committees, as illegal in themselves, and calculated only for Purposes of Intimidation. While he professed himself an Enemy to Court Influence, and a Friend to Economy; he reprobated the Spirit of the Petition, and exhorted the House to treat it with Contempt. Courtenay employing, as he always did, the Arms of Ridicule, parodied the Lines of *Pope*, (when speaking of his Grotto,) which he applied to the Leaders of Opposition, with admirable Effect.

“ Their wise Divan the best Companions grace,
Chiefs out of War, and Members out of Place..

Who fondly mingle in their Hope-fill'd Bowl,
The Feast of Party, and the Flow of Soul.
Ev'n He whose Lightning pierc'd Rebellion's Lines,
For Reformation forms their great Designs."

The last Couplet, which so pointedly alluded to Burgoyne's American Campaign, contrasted with his present Occupations as a Delegate; was not less felt by the Audience, than Courtenay's Description of the Roman Provocatives to Patriotism, "*Domi, Inopia, Foris, Æs alienum*," attracted all Eyes towards Fox. In Language of the utmost Simplicity, unaccompanied with any Ornaments of Style, but, on that Account more impressive; Sir William Dolben, one of the Representatives for the University of Oxford, a Man of sound and sober Sense, expressed his Disapprobation of, and his total Dissent from, the Petition before the House. Of the asserted Encrease of the Influence of the Crown, so as to endanger the future Security of public Freedom, he declared his Disbelief. Above all, he reprobated the Appointment of Associations and Delegates, for the Purpose of over-awing and controuling the Legislature. He finished by observing, that so long as the Constitution existed, Redress could only be obtained from Parliament; and protested that he

would oppose every Institution, however plausible it might appear in Theory, which tended to set up or to constitute any Power, paramount to the Laws and the British Form of Government.

So animated a Declaration, made from a Quarter of such Respectability, proved of incalculable Advantage to Ministers, who thus beheld themselves defended by Weapons far more solid than Eloquence. It was indeed with a View to counteract the Effect produced on the House by Sir William Dolben's Speech, that Fox instantly rose, and exerted his gigantic Talents, in Order to efface the Impression. The Solicitor General, Mansfield, replied to him; and alluding to the Profession jointly made by Fox and Burgoyne, of their Readiness to obey the Call of the People whenever made, "This Language," observed he, "either imports Nothing, or it is strong indeed! It cannot mean a mere Perseverance in Parliamentary Opposition. If therefore it has any Meaning, it must be that they are ready, without previously deciding on the Motives or the Justice of the Call, to seek Redress in some undefined Manner,

“ not authorized by the Constitution. Both
“ those honorable Gentlemen are Delegates,
“ and both have signed the present Petition,
“ as Individuals. By such an anomalous
“ Mode of Proceeding, while they affect
“ to acknowledge the Supremacy of this
“ House, they in Reality treat Parliament
“ as a subordinate Power in the State,
“ while they avow their Readiness to obey
“ the Summons of the People without Re-
“ servation.” Neither Fox nor Burgoyne
made any Reply, nor offered any Explan-
ation relative to the Import of their Expres-
sions : but, Dunning rising when the Soli-
citor General sat down, in a Speech of con-
siderable Length, which displayed all the
acute legal Sophistry of a most able Prac-
titioner at the Bar, endeavoured to cover his
Friends, and to justify their Declarations.
He assumed, as an incontrovertible Princi-
ple, that Associations might not only be legal,
but, laudable ; the Culpability or Merit of
such Unions of Individuals depending not
on the Act itself, and being altogether regu-
lated by the Intention. He exemplified the
Position with uncommon Ingenuity, and
placed it in numerous, as well as striking
Points of View ; without nevertheless era-

sing the Sentiment of Condemnation which generally pervaded the Minds of moderate and impartial Men, on a full Consideration of the Subject. The Division sufficiently proved how little Fox could hope to overturn the Administration, by the same Arguments which had produced the memorable Vote of the 6th of April, 1780; and he therefore directed his Attack on a more assailable Quarter;—I mean, the Capture and Treatment of the Island of St. Eustatius.

[14th May.] That defenceless Possession of the Dutch Commonwealth in the West Indies, having fallen into our Hands, as a natural Consequence of the War between the two States; Sir George Rodney, and General Vaughan, the two Commanders by Sea and Land, proceeded instantly to make a general and indiscriminate Seizure of the Property, as well as of the Stores, there accumulated. In the Execution of this Act, many individual Cases of severe Suffering, necessarily happened; all which were presented to the House by Burke, under a Splendor of Description, and a Blaze of Eloquence, which I have scarcely ever known exceeded even by *Him*. He compared

the Conduct of our naval and military Officers, in thus confiscating private Property, to the most savage Outrages of the ferocious Leaders of the most barbarous Ages; and after laying before his Audience a Picture of Oppression on one Hand, contrasted with Misery on the other, well calculated to awaken Sympathy, while it inspired Indignation; he concluded by a Motion tending to institute an immediate Enquiry into the whole Transaction. Lord George Germain, in whose Department the Responsibility lay, and from whose Office had issued the Orders or Instructions under which Rodney and Vaughan had acted; while he justified their Line of Conduct, as not only dictated by Wisdom and Policy, but, as sanctioned by all the Laws of modern War, and by the Code of national Jurisprudence universally adopted throughout Europe; yet, strongly objected to a Parliamentary Enquiry in the first Instance. Dundas, who always threw himself into the Breach, whenever the Enemy attempted to storm, distinguished himself on that Night, by one of the most able Speeches which ever fell from his Lips. But, the first Lord of the Treasury sat silent; a Circumstance which gave Rise to Surmises,

that the Measure had not his cordial Approbation, or that Unanimity did not thoroughly pervade the Cabinet.

Nevertheless, the Division disappointed all the Hopes of Opposition; Burke's Motion being negatived by nearly two to one; only 86 supporting it, while Government had 160 Votes. I have notwithstanding, always considered the Proceedings of Rodney and Vaughan at St. Eustatius, however necessitated they may have been by the peculiar Circumstances accompanying the Capture, as unfortunate, and to be lamented in a national Point of View. Neither the Vote of Approbation in which I concurred on that Night, nor my Partiality for Lord George Germain, and for Lord Rodney, prevent me from owning that the Measure has, on the fullest Consideration, neither my moral, nor my political Approval. It did not facilitate the Subjection of America, as was hoped and predicted from the Treasury Bench. It covered our Arms with some Degree of Obloquy, as if we had abused the Rights of Conquest, to Purposes of Rapine and private Emolument. To the Captors themselves, the Plunder of St. Eustatius produced no Benefit;

the Vessels on which was shipped the Produce of that Emporium, having been intercepted by a Squadron of the Enemy, under the Command of La Motte Piquet, on their Passage to England, and carried into French Ports. Nor did the Evil terminate there:—for, I know that the Actions and Suits at Law, which were carried on in the Admiralty and other Courts of this Country, on the Part of the Individuals who sought Reparation for the Injuries and Losses inflicted by Rodney's Orders, embittered the Evening of his Life, and pressed heavily on his Finances. Such were the Results of that Expedition, from which very different Consequences were confidently anticipated.

[31st May.] Notwithstanding the general Admiration which Pitt's first Speech had excited, and the great Expectations formed of his Parliamentary Talents, yet he remained silent for more than three Months, before he rose a second Time: exhibiting by this Act of Restraint and Self-command, the Patience, as well as the Judgment, with which he knew how to wait for a favorable Occasion of presenting himself anew to public Notice. Colonel Barré having attempted

to induce the House to nominate Commissioners of Accounts, from among their own Members, instead of delegating so important a Function to Individuals chosen, as he asserted, by the first Minister; Lord North opposed it with his usual Ability, and assigned many strong Reasons for adhering to the Persons already in Employment. Pitt availed himself of this Opportunity to confirm the Impression that he had made, or rather to augment the Reputation which he had previously acquired. With great Animation, but, with still greater Dignity and Energy, he endeavoured to demonstrate that the House, in permitting Persons not taken from among themselves, to perform the Office of examining and reporting on the national Expenditure; voluntarily surrendered their characteristic, most valuable Right, that of watching over the public Purse. The Power of taking from the People, the odious Power of taxing, they reserved, as an Instrument for enabling the noble Lord in the blue Ribband, to prosecute his wild Schemes of Conquest, or of Corruption: but, the beneficent Power of relieving the Distresses of the Subject, they abandoned to others. He treated with De-

rision, the Idea of those Commissioners possessing more Experience than the Members of an Assembly, where every Representative of the People should be capable of superintending, as well as of examining, how the Treasure of the State was expended.

After depicting with Warmth, the embarrassed and degraded Condition of the Country, he adverted to the Qualities, the Arithmetical Talents, and personal Qualifications of the Commissioners. Sir Guy Carleton, he observed, though an able military Officer, might be no Accomptant; and of Mr. Pigot he remarked, that *though of a Profession to which he himself could not be supposed inimical*, (for, Pitt was then a Barrister,) yet the Law did not necessarily qualify Gentlemen for a Commission of that Nature. On Lord North he expressed himself with great Asperity, as a Minister who had repeatedly shifted his Ground; who had violated his Pledges given to Parliament; had purposely employed the Commissioners in Objects of minor Importance, instead of directing them to great national Enquiries; and who only sought systematically to procrastinate, to deceive, or to mislead, as might best suit his

Purposes. He concluded by emphatically invoking and adjuring the House not to reject the Motion of Colonel Barré, unless they were determined to bury their own Freedom and Independence in the same common Grave with the Power, the Splendor, and the Glory of the Empire. Such was nearly, as I think, the Purport of Pitt's second Address to Parliament; made in Support of a Member who represented, not the Marquis of Rockingham, but, the Earl of Shelburne, in that Assembly. It was pronounced before a thin Attendance, scarcely above 140; and exceeded in Duration his first Speech, by nearly double the Time. Not a Word was uttered from the Treasury Bench in Answer to it, nor was it supported either by Fox or Burke. A Division taking Place immediately after Pitt sate down, Government divided 98, while the Minority only amounted to 42. So firm a hold of Power did Lord North still retain, towards the Close of the sixth Year since we had been engaged in Hostilities with America!

[12th June.] Towards the Middle of June, Fox, strenuously supported by Pitt, made an ineffectual Effort for compelling

the Administration to abandon the further Prosecution of the American War, and to conclude Peace with the Colonies. Neither the House, nor the Nation, though both were weary of the Contest, could however be induced to relinquish it, while Lord Cornwallis seemed to be advancing with his Army, through the Central Provinces, towards the Chesapeake. Fox's Motion was rejected by a Majority of seventy-three. On that Evening nevertheless it began to be palpable, that the Scaffolding on which rested Lord North's Power, after more than six Years of severe and almost unremitting Attack, gave Indications of an approaching Fall. He in Fact tacitly encouraged the Assaultants, by withdrawing from the Breach, if I may so express myself, at the Moment of the Storm:—for, though the Attempt to compel Ministers to conclude Peace with the American Colonies, must, if it had been successful, probably overturn his own Administration, yet he never rose, nor opposed it by a single Word. Lord George Germain, under those discouraging Circumstances, made as able and as eloquent a Defence, as the Nature of the Case admitted: but he had to struggle against insuperable, and augmenting Difficulties. The Country Gentlemen,

wearied out by so many unsuccessful Campaigns, exhibited Symptoms of Reluctance to continue their Support. One or two made their Recantation. Rigby, and the Lord Advocate of Scotland, who both spoke in the Course of the Debate; though they resolutely opposed Fox's Motion, yet avowed, not only that they were disgusted at so expensive and protracted a Contest, but, implied their Disbelief of its Termination on any Terms short of conceding Independence to America. One noble Individual only, then an Irish Peer, was found sufficiently enthusiastic to avow that he considered the Struggle as a *holy War*; a Declaration which he made from the Treasury Bench. He was indeed, himself, a Member of the Board of Treasury. The Avowal attracted, as might have been foreseen, the severest Animadversions from the opposite Benches. Mr. Thomas Townsend, with very considerable Ingenuity, drew a Comparison between the actual War, and the Crusades undertaken in the Ages of Darkness; which Expeditions bore, he said, the strongest Similitude. Both originated in Folly, or Madness, or Delusion; and both conducted to Slaughter, or to Ruin. Fox, holding in his Hand the Gazette recently published by Government, contain-

ing Lord Cornwallis's Account of his Victory just gained over the Americans, in the Province of North Carolina; endeavoured to deduce even from the British General's Letter, Proofs of the Impossibility of his subjugating the Colonies. Burgoyne, in a Speech prepared for the Occasion, detailed his own disastrous Campaign through its principal Stages, down to the Surrender at Saratoga; accused Lord George Germain of having deceived him with Hopes or Promises of Aid on the Part of the Loyalists, which had never been realized; and concluded by declaring that the Loss of America might be regarded as inevitable.

But, the Feature of the Debate, which rendered it peculiarly prominent and interesting in the Annals of Parliament, was the third Appearance of Mr. Pitt on the Floor of the House, and the Part taken by him in the Discussion: It would seem that he had not intended to rise, nor meditated to speak on the Question under Consideration, if the Allusions made to his Father, had not in some Measure compelled him to break Silence. Mr. Rigby, in the Course of his Speech, having asserted that the late Earl

of Chatham, though he denied the Right of Great Britain to *tax* the Colonies for the Purpose of raising a Revenue, yet maintained the Right of the Parent Country to make *financial or commercial Regulations*, and to establish *Port Duties or Customs* on every Article sent to America; Pitt attempted to justify and to explain that Line of Opinion, attributed to his noble Relation. While he admitted that such Sentiments had been expressed by the deceased Earl, he denied that his Father had ever approved of the War commenced with America; which, on the contrary he had condemned, reprobated, and opposed in every Stage. Then, after thus throwing as it were a Shield over the Memory of his illustrious Parent, and rescuing him from the Imputation of having countenanced or supported coercive Measures for the Subjugation of the Colonies beyond the Atlantic; he diverged with equal Vehemence and Majesty of Expression, to the Topic immediately before the Assembly. Referring to the Epithet of *holy*, which Lord Westcote had given to the Contest, he declared that he considered it as unnatural, accursed, and unjust; its Traces marked with Persecution and Devastation;

Depravity and Turpitude constituting its Essence, while its Effects would be destructive in the extreme. The English Language seemed inadequate fully to express his Feelings of Indignation and Abhorrence, while stigmatizing the Authors of so ruinous a System. As a Specimen of Parliamentary Eloquence, it unquestionably excelled his two preceding Speeches; leaving on his Audience a deep Impression, or rather Conviction, that he must eventually, and probably at no remote Distance of Time, occupy a high Situation in the Councils of the Crown, as well as in the universal Estimation of his Countrymen.

Dundas, who rose as soon as Pitt sate down, seemed to be thoroughly penetrated with that Truth; and by a Sort of political Second Sight, appeared to anticipate the Period, when this new Candidate for Office, would occupy the Place on the Treasury Bench, then filled by his noble Friend in the blue Ribband. With consummate Ability, but, with equal Address, in the Progress of his Reply to Mr. Pitt, the Lord Advocate endeavoured to prove that the late Earl of Chatham had uniformly resisted every Pre-

tension of America to Independence. “ If
“ therefore,” said he, “ the Honorable Gen-
“ tleman supports the present Motion for
“ compelling His Majesty’s Ministers to con-
“ clude Peace with the insurgent Colonies, he
“ differs diametrically from his noble Rela-
“ tion, whose last Breath was exhausted in
“ execrating those Servants of the Crown, that
“ would presume to despoil Parliament of
“ its inalienable Rights, and to rob the reign-
“ ing Family of their brightest patrimonial In-
“ heritance.” I own that it has always ap-
peared to me, such were in 1778 the Senti-
ments of the great Earl of Chatham; nor
was I ever convinced, either by the Explana-
tions of his Son, or by those of Fox, that he
contemplated the Independence of America
with other Eyes than those of Lord North
and Lord George Germain. He might in-
deed, had he survived down to 1781, have
modified, changed, or retracted his Opinions,
in Compliance with Events: but, that he did
so, previous to his dying Speech in the House
of Peers, notwithstanding the Testimony of
the late Mr. Pitt, I never could comprehend.
Posterity may perhaps be better able to
decide the Point, than we can do in the pre-
sent Age.

The Lord Advocate admirably qualified whatever of unpalatable or distasteful to Mr. Pitt, might be found in his Assertions relative to the Earl of Chatham, by the flattering Predictions of his own future and certain Elevation, with which they were accompanied. “ He (Dundas,) was unwilling and “ reluctant to state to the Honorable Gentle- “ man’s Face, those Truths, which, were he “ absent, Truth itself would compel him to “ utter ; but, he nevertheless felicitated his “ Country and his Fellow Citizens, on the “ auspicious Union, and splendid Exhibition “ of Abilities, witnessed by the House on “ that Evening. With the first rate Talents, “ were blended high Integrity, a noble and “ honest Independence of Mind, and the “ most persuasive Eloquence.” Such were the Encomiums lavished on Pitt, by Dundas ; who, though he professed, and no doubt felt at that Time, the strongest Attachment to Lord North, yet obviously foresaw his Decline, and as certainly beheld in Prospect his destined Successor ; if not immediate, yet remote. In Fact, the Lord Advocate of Scotland found himself, within the Revolution of thirteen Months from that Day, seated, as Treasurer of the Navy, on

the Treasury Bench, along-side of Mr. Pitt, become Chancellor of the Exchequer, under the Earl of Shelburne's Administration. So solid were his political Speculations, so sound his Judgment, and so speedily realized were his Calculations of Ambition!—Fox concluded this eventful Evening, of which I have most imperfectly attempted to state some salient Points, by replying to all the preceding Speakers. Rigby, who had asserted roundly that every Administration since 1763, concurred in maintaining as a Principle, the unconditional Dominion of this Country over the American Colonies; was admonished by Fox, “to observe a
“more temperate Language when he advanced such positive Charges, followed by
“such severe Conclusions, against so many
“of the highest and most respectable Characters in Great Britain.” He accompanied the Reproof, by a Declaration that “he
“was not ignorant how powerfully the Paymaster of the Forces was supported, *in*
“that House, and *out of it.*” Words pregnant with Meaning, which alluded in a Manner too intelligible for admitting of Mistake, to the secret Support that Rigby was supposed to derive from the royal Con-

fidence and Favor! On the Lord Advocate, Fox was severe, yet liberal; and without the slightest Mixture of Gall, from which no Individual in Parliament was more perfectly exempt; not even Lord North or Sheridan. Fox jested on Dundas's Protestations of Independence on the first Minister his Friend; recognized the learned Lord's Abilities, nor disputed his Integrity; but, denied the Accuracy of various Statements that he had made in the Course of his Speech.

When Fox had Occasion to notice Dundas's Eulogiums on the Earl of Chatham, he seemed to pause and to weigh his Expressions:—for, he felt that the Ground was delicate and full of Danger. “The learned “Lord,” said he, “has eloquently panegy-
“rized the exalted Virtues and Talents of
“a deceased consummate Statesman. My
“Youth and other Causes prevented me
“from being much known personally to that
“great Man. No Individual in the House
“can however reverence his Memory more
“than myself. Nevertheless I would lay in
“my Claim for others, who, though they
“might not coincide in Opinion on every

“ Point of Policy with that illustrious Nobleman, have yet rendered distinguished Services to their Country.” In these Words, dictated by filial Piety, and Affection for his Father’s Memory, he indirectly alluded to the political and Party Disputes which had existed between Lord Holland and the Earl of Chatham, when both were Commoners and Members of that Assembly. Disputes, which were destined to be revived with augmented Virulence between their Sons!—Reverting lastly to Lord Westcote’s Assertion, that he considered the Contest with America as a *holy* War, Fox remarked, “ To others, the Application of such an Epithet to the actual Contest, may appear new : but, to me, it has no Novelty. I was in Paris, precisely at the Time when the present War began, in 1776, and Dr. Franklin honoured me with his Intimacy. I recollect, that conversing with Him on the Subject of the impending Hostilities, He, while he predicted their ruinous Consequences, compared their Principle and their Consequences, to those of the ancient *Crusades*. He foretold that we should expend our best Blood and Treasure in attempting an unattainable Object ; and that

“ like the *holy* War of the dark Ages, while
“ we carried Desolation and Slaughter over
“ America, we should finally depopulate,
“ enfeeble, and impoverish Great Britain.”

Fox's Conclusion might almost be considered as prophetic. “ The only Objection,” observed he, “ made to my Motion, is that
“ it must lead to American Independence.
“ But I venture to assert, that *within six*
“ *Months of the present Day*, Ministers
“ themselves will come forward to Parlia-
“ ment, with some Proposition of a similar
“ Nature. I know that such is their Inten-
“ tion. I announce it to the House.” Notwithstanding so eloquent, and so powerful an Appeal to the Passions, as well as to the Understanding of his Audience, the Moment was not yet arrived, when the Majority of the national Representatives could consent to renounce all further Hope of reducing the revolted Colonies to Obedience. Even the Attendance on that Night, fell far beneath the vast and awful Importance of the Subject agitated. Only ninety-nine Persons divided with Fox. One Hundred and seventy-two supported Administration. Two Hundred and eighty-seven Members were therefore absent. It seemed however to be more a Ques-

tion of the King, and of Lord George Germain, than of Lord North. There were not wanting Individuals who thought that the first Minister would have felt little Regret, if Opposition had out-numbered him. His Conduct might be thought to indicate great Indifference to the Result, and he probably participated Fox's Apprehensions for the final Issue of Lord Cornwallis's Virginian Campaign.

I have descended to more minute Details respecting this Debate, than I should have done, if it had not been the last which took Place on American Topics, previous to the Catastrophe and Surrender of York Town. But, the most interesting Discussion of the whole Session, and in many Points of View, one of the most interesting which I ever witnessed in the House of Commons, took place three Days later, on the Motion for amending, or in Fact virtually repealing, "The Marriage Act." It stood altogether unconnected with Ministers, or with Party Politics, though originated by Fox, at a very advanced Period of the Year. The Question seemed in itself to be not less philosophical and moral, than a Measure of State, or an Object of legislative Policy. Never did Fox appear to me in a more elevated

Light, than on that Occasion, while pleading the Cause of his Fellow-subjects at large, against the Shackles and Impediments opposed, as he asserted, by Aristocracy, Family Pride, and Wealth, to the matrimonial Union of two Persons of dissimilar Rank and Condition! His Father, Lord Holland, for whom he nourished the warmest filial Affection, had manifested similar Sentiments. Fox assumed as a Principle, while reasoning on the Subject, that "Passion, not Reason, is "best capable of promoting our Felicity in "Wedlock." However untenable and even revolting, such an Assumption may appear, he maintained it by Arguments well calculated to persuade, if not to convince his Hearers. I will candidly own that they made the deepest Impression on my Mind, and produced the fullest Conviction when I heard them from his Lips in 1781; but, the Lapse of six and thirty Years have reconciled me to the Marriage Act. General Burgoyne, who supported the Bill, and whose Eloquence was usually tame, as well as destitute of Entertainment, seemed to rise above himself, and to be inspired by the Subject. Both he and Fox expressed themselves with the utmost Acrimony against

Sir Dudley Ryder, who had warmly supported "the Marriage Act" when it was first introduced into the House of Commons. They accused him of avowing a systematic Intention to divide the higher Classes of Society from the vulgar, and to prevent their Intermixture by Marriage; thus effectually separating Persons of high Rank and Fortune, from the Mass of the Population. Burgoyne, when alluding to Fox's splendid Talents, observed that "if the *Spirit of the Marriage Act* had operated previous to his "Birth, he would never have come into Existence." Courtenay, in a Speech abounding with Humour and Irony, though of the broadest Description, and which in many Passages trampled on Decorum, sustained Fox's Arguments. So did Lord Nugent, in a somewhat similar Strain of Eloquence. On the other Hand, Burke, with no less Ability than Fox, and with equal Powers of Genius, appealed to many of the strongest Passions of the human Mind, while he opposed the Measure brought forward by his Friend. They completely diverged on this Question, in opposite Directions; each displaying uncommon Capacity, Enthusiasm, and profound Réasoning, in their respective

Speeches. Sheridan likewise spoke against Fox's Motion, with great Ingenuity, though not at considerable Length; and it was one of the few Occasions on which I have seen them take different Sides, during the whole Time that I remained a Member of the House of Commons. Lord North, as might be expected, inclined to oppose every Innovation on the Marriage Act; and there could have been little Doubt, as far as the Temper of the House manifested itself, that Fox's Bill would have been rejected by a great Majority, if the Sense of the Members present had been taken upon it. But, no Division was demanded; and Fox, abandoning it for the present, pledged himself, if ever he should come into Power, to renew the Motion from the Treasury Bench. This Pledge he never, indeed, redeemed: but if we reflect, for how short a Time he continued in Office, when Secretary of State in 1782, as well as in 1783, together with the Multiplicity of Matter which then pressed upon him; we cannot wonder, though it is possible we may regret, his not having resumed the Subject.

[16th—30th June.] The Session now

drew towards a Close, and Lord North prepared to withdraw his shattered Parliamentary Forces from the Scene of Action. Not however before George Byng, the “ Muster “ Master General” of Opposition, as he was denominated, had invoked the Followers of that Party to attend betimes during the ensuing Winter, “ in Order to terminate the “ wicked and fruitless Contest with America.” With so much Certainty did they calculate on complete Success, whenever the Campaign beyond the Atlantic should be concluded. Intelligence arriving about this Time, of the naval Action fought in Praya Bay, between Suffrein and Commodore Johnstone, Fox made some severe, but, as they have always appeared to me, just Observations, on the Conduct of the British Commander. That he was surprized on the Occasion, cannot admit of Dispute; and though he extricated himself without sustaining any Loss of Ships, yet he acquired no more Honor, than Keppel had gained in his memorable Battle with d’Orvilliers. I knew Johnstone, and respected him; but I coincided fully with Fox in Opinion, that the Commodore was much more formidable in Parliament, than on the Ocean;

and more dreaded by the first Minister of England, than by Maurepas or Vergennes. Lord North might have said of Johnstone, though in a different Sense, what Sir Robert Walpole, his ministerial Predecessor, observed in 1740, of the General Officers of that Period, when the List was submitted to his Inspection. “ I know not what Effect “ they may produce upon the Enemy ; but, “ before God, they make *Me* tremble.” Johnstone’s Oratory, while opposing Government, not his naval Skill, called him forward, and placed him in Command of a Squadron, after he had come over to the Side of Administration. He acquired some Wealth, but, gained little Renown, by the Expedition, which proved more beneficial to himself, than advantageous to his Country. Lord North defended him nevertheless with Animation, against Fox’s Comments.

The Lord Advocate of Scotland, as Chairman of the *Secret* Committee, having laid on the Table of the House, the two first Reports made on the State of the Carnatic ; strenuously recommended them to the diligent Perusal of Members during the approaching Recess, “ as they would consti-

“tute,” he said, “the Ground-work of future Parliamentary Proceedings.” A few Days later, a short, but sharp, and most personal Altercation took Place,—for I cannot call it by any other Name;—between Fox and some leading Supporters of Administration. It was provoked by Fox, who, in the Course of a Speech pronounced in Behalf of the Americans confined in the Mill Prison at Plymouth, avowed that “in his Opinion, their Cause was the Cause of Freedom, of Whiggism, and of the Constitution, to which he ardently wished Success:” adding, that “Administration, in prosecuting the Contest with the Colonies, only desired to satiate their Revenge.” Irritated at such Imputations, Dundas answered, “that it afforded him no Surprise to find the Honorable Member rejoicing at our Enemy’s Success; a Success to which he had contributed not a little, by his Language and Line of Action within those Walls.” But, Mansfield, the Solicitor General, with a manly Indignation, rising, demanded of Fox, “Whether he meant to limit himself to mere Wishes and Vows in Favor of the Americans? Or did he intend to draw his Sword, to

“ clothe himself in the *Rebel Uniform*, to
“ enlist under Washington’s Command, to
“ fight the Battles of America, and to point
“ his Weapon against his Countrymen’s
“ Breasts ?” Fox answered, that he dis-
dained to make any Reply to Calumnies
founded in gross Misrepresentation, and the
Conversation terminated. I have already
remarked elsewhere, that he almost always
wore *Blue and Buff*.

[20th—30th July.] Many Circumstances
contributed to sustain, and to prolong, the
Duration of Lord North’s Administration,
notwithstanding the Misfortunes and Dis-
graces which continued annually to mark its
Progress. The Mutiny in the Pennsylvania
Line, which for a Moment seemed to menace
the American Congress with internal Revolt,
during the Spring of 1781; Lord Corn-
wallis’s Victory over Greene, at Guilford;
followed by Lord Rawdon’s Advantage
gained over the same General at Camden,
two Places situate in North and South Ca-
rolina; lastly, the Expectations formed from
the Advance of the British Forces into the
Province of Virginia:—all these Events held
the Minds of Men in Suspense, till the Pro-

rogation of Parliament on the 18th of July, allowed the Minister to retire for some Time, from the Scene of his political Exertion. The Province of West Florida had nevertheless been conquered by *Spain*, while *France* reduced to its Subjection the Island of Tobago. *Our* only Acquisition consisted in the Seizure, rather than the Capture, of the Dutch Island of St. Eustatius in the West Indies; an Event which served to cover Rodney and Vaughan, the naval and military Commanders in Chief, with Obloquy, on Account of their severe Treatment of the Inhabitants. Even on the Element of the Sea, every Encounter which we had with the Enemy, from its indecisive Nature, rather tended to augment their Courage, as well as to stimulate their Enterprize.

August.] The severest naval Action which took Place during the whole Course of the American War, was the Battle fought at this Time between Parker and Zoutman, who commanded the English and Dutch Squadrons in the North Sea, off the Dogger Bank. But, it bore no Resemblance in its Results, to the glorious Victory obtained in our Time, by Duncan, at Camperdown;

and might more aptly be compared with the sanguinary, though indecisive Conflicts for Superiority, which distinguished Charles the Second's Reign ; when the Navies of Holland were led by Tromp and Ruyter, while those of England were conducted by James, Duke of York, by Prince Rupert, and by Montague, first Earl of Sandwich. On this Occasion, the King, departing from the ordinary Course of his Life, embarked on the Thames, accompanied by the Prince of Wales, who had just accomplished his nineteenth Year ; and descended the River to the Nore, where he visited Admiral Parker, on board his Ship, the " Fortitude." Prince Frederic, the present Duke of York, then commonly denominated Bishop of Osnaburgh, had been sent over to Hanover, near eight Months earlier ; probably with a View not only to his Accomplishment by visiting Germany, but, perhaps to remove him from Scenes here at home, ill calculated to ameliorate his political, or his moral Character. One of the Defects attributed to His Majesty's natural Formation of Mind, principally resulting from his secluded Education during his Grandfather's Reign, and the retired Habits which he then imbibed under

Lord Bute's Tuition ; was, his supposed Reluctance to become personally acquainted with his People. His Enemies described him as a Prince averse to all Communication with his Subjects, except at a Levee. Thus the " Heroic Epistle" exclaims,

" Our Sons some Slave of Greatness may behold,
Cast in the genuine Asiatic Mould,
Who of three Realms shall condescend to know
No more than he can spy from Windsor's Brow."

Yet, when the King, emancipating himself for the first Time since his Accession to the Throne, from the Restraints which he imposed on his own Conduct, went down to Portsmouth in June, 1773, to inspect his Fleet ; with what severe Raillery did not the same Poem endeavour to expose him to Derision ?

" There shall he see, as other Folks have seen,
That Ships have Anchors, and that Seas are green ;
Shall count the Tackling trim, the Streamers fine,
With *Bradshaw* prattle, and with *Sandwich* dine ;
And then row back, amidst the Cannons' Roar,
As safe, as sage, as when he left the Shore."

But, it would only argue Folly to deny, that during the first twenty-three Years of

his Reign, from 1761, as soon as Lord Bute came into Power, down to the End of 1783, when Fox brought forward the "East India Bill," George the Third was most unpopular. His Subjects, however, made him ample Amends for so long withholding from him the Testimonies of their Affection, by the general and unbounded Attachment which they have since manifested towards him, down to the Moment when he ceased to sway the Sceptre.

September.] Admiral Darby, who continued to command the Channel Fleet, had successfully relieved Gibraltar, during the Course of the Spring, when reduced to great Extremity. But, in the Autumn, our numerical Inferiority compelled that Commander to take Refuge in Torbay; while the combined French and Spanish Fleets, for the third Time since the Beginning of the War, occupied the Entrance of the British Channel, and even meditated to attack us, as we lay at Anchor on our own Coast. So low was the naval Power of England reduced, towards the Conclusion of Lord North's Administration, amidst the Exhausture and Calamities occasioned by the American War!

But, towards America itself, all Eyes were anxiously turned ; where, it became evident, Affairs rapidly tended to some great and decisive Crisis. Lord Cornwallis having advanced into the Province of Virginia in June, finally established himself at York Town in August. No Position could have been more judiciously chosen ; and it might unquestionably have been maintained under every Disadvantage, against the united Force of America and of France, if a Chain of fortuitous Accidents, rather than a Series of able or well combined Measures, had not led to the unavoidable Catastrophe which terminated the War. De Grasse, who commanded the French Fleet, was not less favored by Fortune, in finding the Mouth of the Chesapeake unoccupied, on his Arrival there from the West Indies ; than he derived Aid from the Delays that prevented the English Squadron under Graves, anticipating his Seizure of that important Station. Graves and Clinton, both, successively failed, only by the short Interruption of a few Days ; the first, in occupying the Chesapeake with a naval Force ; the last, in arriving with an Army, before Lord Cornwallis's Surrender, and thereby rescuing him

from the Necessity of capitulating to Washington. In so desperate a Situation, precluded from all Possibility of Relief, Lord Cornwallis laid down his Arms; and the American Rebellion, after a Contest of more than six Years, finally became a Revolution.

October.] It is at this Point of Time, that we must place the highest Elevation to which Louis the Sixteenth attained during his Reign: an Elevation only to be paralleled in the French Annals, by recurring to the brilliant Æras of Louis the Fourteenth. For, his Grandfather Louis the Fifteenth, never stood on such an Eminence in the Eyes of Europe; not even in the Year 1748, previous to the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, though his Troops, conducted by Marshal Saxe, after defeating the Allies in various Actions, had then overrun the Austrian Low Countries, and nearly reduced Brabant. In October, 1781, the King of France beheld America finally dissevered from Great Britain, by the Union of his Armies with those of the Insurgents; while he received about the same Period, Lord Cornwallis's Sword, surrendered to La Fayette. His Forces were

occupied in pursuing their Career of Victory throughout the West Indies ; and in the East, Suffrein, in his repeated naval Engagements with Sir Edward Hughes, not only maintained the Honor of his Sovereign's Flag, but, had nearly succeeded more than once, in obtaining a decided Superiority over our Squadron on the Coast of Coromandel. The Spanish Branch of the House of Bourbon, acting in Subservience to the Views of the Court of Versailles, after subjecting Minorca and West Florida, held Gibraltar besieged by Sea and Land ; the Reduction of which Fortress, calculated to render for ever illustrious the Reign of Charles the Third, was anticipated with sanguine Impatience by the two Crowns. Our Commerce had not suffered less by French Depredations, than our Colonies had been diminished by the Arms of France. Holland, ranging her Force under the same Standard, made common Cause with Louis, against her ancient Ally. It only remained for them to crush the Channel Fleet of England, in order to dictate the Terms of Peace ; and so nearly did Guichen and Cordova, who commanded the combined Navies of France and Spain, appear to be to achieving

that last Object, as to impress us with the utmost Apprehension of its Completion. Who, when contemplating a Scene of such national Prosperity; could have imagined that this Descendant of so many Kings, that had reigned for eight hundred Years over the French, would perish on a Scaffold, in his own Capital, scarcely more than eleven Years afterwards; the Victim of his inert Pusillanimity, or tame Inaction, in not firmly resisting the first Ebullitions of popular Innovation!

As if to secure and perpetuate the Bourbon Line, the Queen of France, who had been married more than ten Years, without giving a male Heir to the Crown, at length brought into the World a Son. Catherine of Medicis, like Maria Antonietta of Austria, had remained childless for nearly the same Period of Time, before she produced a Successor. The young Dauphin's Baptism was performed in this very Month, with extreme Magnificence, at Versailles. Happily for himself, he expired early in June, 1789; only a few Weeks before the fatal Revolution which took Place in July of that same Year, swept away the Monarchy, to place Robespierre

and Bonaparte successively on the Throne of Henry the Fourth. The Dauphin was in his ninth Year, when he finished his short Career. I have been assured by Individuals who had Access to know the Fact, that at the Age of seven Years, when the Charge of his Person, according to the established Usage of the old French Court, was surrendered up by the Governess, and he was then put under the Care of Men; the Dauphin being stripped in the Presence of professional Persons, and having undergone an Examination, was pronounced to be without Defect in his bodily Formation. But, being made soon afterwards to sit with his Feet in a wooden Machine calculated to turn them out, the spinal Marrow became speedily affected by it. Whether this Assertion be accurate or not, it is certain that the Vertebrae of the Back-bone growing crooked, he fell into a State of Languor, accompanied by Debility. I have seen him more than once while in this Condition, during the Summer preceding his Decease, taking the Air in a Carriage, in the Gardens of St. Cloud. His emaciated Appearance awakened Concern; but, he was said not to want Intelligence, and the Queen his Mother,

whose maternal Feelings were acute, manifested the warmest Affection for him while living, as well as deep Sorrow for his Loss. The Duke of Normandy, his younger Brother, born under a still more inauspicious Planet, succeeded to his Title; and became, after his Father's Execution, the unfortunate Louis the Seventeenth.

November.] During the whole Month of November, the concurring Accounts which were transmitted to Government, enumerating Lord Cornwallis's Embarrassments, and the Positions taken by the Enemy, augmented the Anxiety of the Cabinet. Lord George Germain in particular, conscious that on the prosperous or adverse Termination of that Expedition, must hinge the Fate of the American Contest, his own Stay in Office, as well as probably the Duration of the Ministry itself; felt, and even expressed to his Friends, the strongest Uneasiness on the Subject. The Meeting of Parliament meanwhile stood fixed for the 27th of November. On Sunday, the 25th, about noon, official Intelligence of the Surrender of the British Forces at York Town, arrived from Falmouth, at Lord George Germain's House in Pall-mall.

Lord Walsingham, who previous to his Father Sir William de Grey's Elevation to the Peerage, had been Under Secretary of State in that Department; and who was selected to second the Address in the House of Peers, on the subsequent Tuesday; happened to be there when the Messenger brought the News. Without communicating it to any other Person, Lord George, for the Purpose of Dispatch, immediately got with him into a Hackney-Coach, and drove to Lord Stormont's Residence in Portland-place. Having imparted to him the disastrous Information, and taken him into the Carriage, they instantly proceeded to the Chancellor's House in Great Russel-street, Bloomsbury, whom they found at Home: when, after a short Consultation, they determined to lay it, themselves in Person, before Lord North. He had not received any Intimation of the Event, when they arrived at his Door, in Downing-street, between one and two o'Clock. The first Minister's Firmness, and even his Presence of Mind, which had withstood the Riots of June, 1780, gave Way for a short Time, under this awful Disaster. I asked Lord George afterwards, how he took the Communication, when

made to him? “As he would have taken a “Ball in his Breast,” replied Lord George. For, he opened his Arms, exclaiming wildly, as he paced up and down the Apartment during a few Minutes, “Oh, God! it is all over!” Words which he repeated many Times, under Emotions of the deepest Consternation and Distress.

When the first Agitation of their Minds had subsided, the four Ministers discussed the Question, whether or not it might be expedient to prorogue Parliament for a few Days: but, as scarcely an Interval of forty-eight Hours remained, before the appointed Time of assembling; and as many Members of both Houses were already either arrived in London, or on the Road; that Proposition was abandoned. It became, however, indispensable to alter, and almost to model anew the King’s Speech, which had been already drawn up, and completely prepared for Delivery from the Throne. This Alteration was therefore made without Delay: and at the same Time, Lord George Germain, as Secretary for the American Department, sent off a Dispatch to His Majesty, who was then at Kew, acquainting him with the

melancholy Termination of Lord Cornwallis's Expedition. Some Hours having elapsed, before these different, but, necessary Acts of Business, could take Place, the Ministers separated, and Lord George Germain repaired to his Office in Whitehall. There he found a Confirmation of the Intelligence, which arrived about two Hours after the first Communication; having been transmitted from Dover, to which Place it was forwarded from Calais, with the French Account of the same Event.

I dined on that Day, at Lord George's; and though the Information, which had reached London in the Course of the Morning, from two different Quarters, was of a Nature not to admit of long Concealment; yet it had not been communicated either to me, or to any Individual of the Company, (as it might naturally have been, through the Channel of common Report,) when I got to Pall-mall, between five and six o'Clock. Lord Walsingham, who likewise dined there, was the only Guest that had become acquainted with the Fact. The Party, nine in Number, sate down to Table. Lord George appeared serious, though he mani-

fested no Discomposure. Before the Dinner was finished, one of his Servants delivered him a Letter, brought back by the Messenger who had been dispatched to the King. Lord George opened and perused it: then looking at Lord Walsingham, to whom he exclusively directed his Observation, “The King writes,” said he, “just as He always does, except that I observe he has omitted “to mark the Hour and the Minute of his “writing, with his usual Precision.” This Remark, though calculated to awaken some Interest, excited no Comment; and while the Ladies, Lord George’s three Daughters, remained in the Room, we repressed our Curiosity. But, they had no sooner withdrawn, than Lord George having acquainted us, that from Paris, Information had just arrived, of the old Count de Maurepas, first Minister, lying at the Point of Death; “It would grieve me,” said I, “to finish my “Career, however far advanced in Years, “were I first Minister of France, before I “had witnessed the Termination of this “great Contest between England and America.” “He has survived to see that “Event,” replied Lord George, with some Agitation. Utterly unsuspecting of the Fact

which had happened beyond the Atlantic, I conceived him to allude to the indecisive naval Action, fought at the Mouth of the Chesapeake, early in the preceding Month of September, between Admiral Graves and Count de Grasse; an Engagement which in its Results might prove most injurious to Lord Cornwallis. Under this Impression, "My Meaning," said I, "is, that if I were the Count de Maurepas, I should wish to live long enough, to behold the final Issue of the War in Virginia." "He has survived to witness it completely," answered Lord George: "The Army has surrendered, and you may peruse the Particulars of the Capitulation, in that Paper;" taking at the same Time one from his Pocket, which he delivered into my Hand, not without visible Emotion. By his Permission I read it aloud, while the Company listened in profound Silence. We then discussed its Contents, as affecting the Ministry, the Country, and the War. It must be confessed that they were calculated to diffuse a Gloom over the most convivial Society, and that they opened a wide Field for political Speculation.

After perusing the Account of Lord Corn-

wallis's Surrender at York Town, it was impossible for all present, not to feel a lively Curiosity to know how the King had received the Intelligence; as well as how he had expressed himself in his Note to Lord George Germain, on the first Communication of so painful an Event. He gratified our Wish by reading it to us; observing at the same Time, that it did the highest Honor to His Majesty's Fortitude, Firmness, and Consistency of Character. The Words made an Impression on my Memory, which the Lapse of more than thirty Years has not erased; and I shall here commemorate its Tenor, as serving to shew how that Prince felt and wrote, under one of the most afflicting, as well as humiliating Occurrences of his Reign. The Billet ran nearly to this Effect:

“ I have received with Sentiments of the
“ deepest Concern, the Communication
“ which Lord George Germain has made
“ me, of the unfortunate Result of the
“ Operations in Virginia. I particularly
“ lament it, on Account of the Consequences
“ connected with it, and the Difficulties
“ which it may produce in carrying on the
“ public Business, or in repairing such a
“ Misfortune. But, I trust that neither

“ Lord George Germain, nor any Member
“ of the Cabinet will suppose, that it makes
“ the smallest Alteration in those Princi-
“ ples of my Conduct, which have directed
“ me in past Time, and which will always
“ continue to animate me under every
“ Event, in the Prosecution of the present
“ Contest.” Not a Sentiment of Despon-
dency or of Despair was to be found in the
Letter; the very Hand-writing of which,
indicated Composure of Mind. Whatever
Opinion we may entertain, relative to the
Practicability of reducing America to Obe-
dience by Force of Arms, at the End of
1781; we must admit, that no Sovereign
could manifest more Calmness, Dignity, or
Self-Command, than George the Third dis-
played in this Reply.

[27th and 28th November.] Severely as
the general Effect of the Blow received in
Virginia, was felt throughout the Capital
and the Nation, yet no immediate Symp-
toms of Ministerial Dissolution, or even of
Parliamentary Defection, became visible in
either House. All the animated Invectives
of Fox, aided by the contumelious Irony of
Burke, and sustained by the dignified Re-

proaches of Pitt, then enlisted on the same Side, made little apparent Impression on their Hearers ; who, though they seemed stupefied by the disastrous Intelligence, yet manifested the firmest Adherence to Administration. Never, probably, at any Period of our History, was more indignant Language used by the Opposition, not even in 1741, previous to Sir Robert Walpole's Resignation ! In the Ardor of his Feelings at the recent Calamity which had taken Place beyond the Atlantic, Fox not only accused Ministers of being virtually in the Pay of France ; but, menaced them with the Vengeance of an undone People, who would speedily compel them to expiate their Crimes on the public Scaffold. Dundas, who sat on the Treasury Bench, not far from Lord North and Lord George Germain, having ventured to smile somewhat contemptuously at the Word *Scaffold* ; Fox apostrophized him in angry Terms, demanding if the learned Lord did not think that the Time was yet ripe for Punishment ? Burke repeated the same Denunciations. Speaking of the Condition of the Country, he declared it to be extinct. " The British Nation," said he, " as an Animal, is dead ; but, the

“ Vermin that feed on the Carcase, are still
“ alive. A Day of Reckoning will however
“ arrive. Whenever it comes, I shall be
“ ready to impeach, and signally to punish
“ the Authors of these Calamities.”

Though Fox, in Conformity with the Wishes of his Friends, moved on that Evening, an Amendment to the proposed Address to the Throne; yet he said, that his own Opinion decidedly went to send up no Address whatever to the Sovereign, until the Members of the lower House could consult their Constituents, and receive their Instructions. The Idea was strongly enforced by Mr. Thomas Pitt, who not only recommended an immediate Appeal to the constituent Body of Electors throughout the Kingdom; but, exhorted the Assembly to withhold all Supply, till that Measure was carried into Execution. Colonel Barré joined in the Recommendations for calling together their Constituents, and demanding their Advice, in a Moment of such Danger and public Distress. So did Mr. Duncombe, one of the two Members for the County of York. But, Burke, however violent and declamatory he might be on other Points, never made the slightest

Allusion to revolutionary Remedies, or proposed any such Experiments. Fox's Appeal to the Electors of Westminster, convoked in Westminster Hall, or in Palace Yard, might indeed have been made without incurring Ridicule. But, how Mr. Thomas Pitt, who elected himself for *Old Sarum*; or Barré, whom Lord Shelburne returned for *Calne*; were to take the Sense of *their* Constituents, it was not easy to explain. Such however were the Propositions gravely made in the legislative Assembly of Great Britain, towards the Close of the American War, amidst the universal Dejection or Despondency of that calamitous Period! Rigby, and he only, of all the ministerial or royal Supporters in Parliament, ventured to elevate his Voice against the Doctrines inculcated by Fox. "What! Mr. Speaker," demanded he, "is the general Sense of the
" Nation no longer to be collected within
" these Walls! Such unconstitutional and
" illegal Appeals to the People, can lead
" only to Disaster, Tumult, and Outrage.
" The representative Body is alone competent to pronounce the public Sentiment."
Unintimidated by Sheridan, who attacked him for speaking with Contempt of the con-

stituent Part of the Community, Rigby maintained his Position with great Firmness.

Burke, with inconceivable Warmth of Colouring, depicted the Folly and Impracticability of taxing America by Force, or as he described it, "shearing the Wolf." The Metaphor was wonderfully appropriate, and scarcely admitted of Denial. He was sustained, and I had almost said, outdone by Mr. Thomas Pitt; who, in Terms of gloomy Despondency, not unaccompanied with great Eloquence, seemed to regard the Situation of the Country, as scarcely admitting of a Remedy, under such a Parliament, such an Administration, and such a Sovereign. "The Ministers," exclaimed Burke, "assert that we have a Right to tax America. But have we the Power to enforce the Right? They cry with *Shylock*, America, give us our Bond! The Pound of Flesh is ours, and we will have it next your Heart! Oh! miserable and infatuated Men! Oh! undone Country!"—He then burst into that most striking and picturesque Simile of *the Wolf*. "Oh! says a silly Man, elated with his Dominion

“ over a few Beasts of the Forest, there is
“ excellent Wool to be found on a Wolf’s
“ Back, and I am resolved to shear him.
“ What! shear a Wolf! Yes. But, will he
“ submit to the Operation? Can you get at
“ this Wool? Oh! I have neither considered,
“ nor will I consider, whether it be prac-
“ ticable. It is my Right. A Wolf has
“ Wool. All Animals having Wool, may
“ be shorn, and therefore I will shear the
“ Wolf!” I confess, I thought this Apo-
logue, if I may so term it, one of the most
impressive and convincing that I ever heard
pronounced, during the whole Time that I
remained in the House of Commons. Such
it was felt to be on that Evening, throughout
the ministerial Ranks. Mr. Thomas Pitt,
though a Man of very superior Attainments
of Mind, and possessing no ordinary Powers
of Oratory, rose seldom to address Parlia-
ment. But, whenever he spoke, his Name,
and his Consanguinity to the great Earl of
Chatham, who was his Uncle, procured him
a most favourable Audience. Despair ani-
mated, while it deeply tinged, his Speech.
Considering the Country as already lost, he
said “ It no longer was a Matter of Import-
“ ance, what set of State Puppets worked
“ the dismal Scene! While the fatal *System*

“ remained, and the *deadly secret Influence*
“ which had continued throughout the pre-
“ sent Reign, pervaded every Measure and
“ every Department, it signified little what
“ ostensible Agents were placed at the
“ Head of Affairs.”

Lord North, in this Moment of general Depression, found Resources in himself. He scornfully repelled the Insinuations of Fox, (who had called him the Prime Minister of France,) as deserving only Contempt; justified the Principle of the War, which did not originate in a despotic Wish to tyrannize America, but, from the Desire of maintaining the constitutional Authority of Parliament over the Colonies; deplored, in common with the Opposition, the Misfortunes which had marked the Progress of the Contest; defied the Threats of Punishment; and finally adjured the House not to aggravate the present Calamity by Dejection or Despair, but, by united Exertion, to secure our national Extrication. “ The War with
“ America, I admit,” said he, “ has been
“ unfortunate; but, not unjust. And should
“ I hereafter, as I am menaced, mount the
“ Scaffold in Consequence of the Part that
“ I have performed in its Prosecution, I

“ shall continue to maintain that it was
“ founded in Right, and dictated by Necessity.” Lord George Germain was not silent on that Night. He deplored the Fate of Lord Cornwallis, avowed the active Share that he had taken in endeavouring to subjugate the Colonies, declared his Readiness to quit the Office which he filled, whenever his Resignation should be demanded ; but, added, “ I will neither be brow-beat, nor
“ clamoured out of it. Whenever my Sovereign calls for my Situation, I shall resign
“ it into his Hands.”

The Debate which arose on the subsequent Evening, when the Address to be presented to the Throne, was reported to the House, far exceeded in the Importance of the Matter elicited, the first Discussion. Pitt, who reserved himself for this second Agitation of the American Question, rose early; and in a Speech of extraordinary Energy, (throughout the Course of which he contrived with great Ability, to blend Professions of devoted Attachment to the Person of the King, with the severest Accusations of his Ministers ;) he fully confirmed the high Opinion of his Judgment and

Parliamentary Talents, already entertained throughout the Country. But, though Pitt spared the reigning Prince, whom he depicted as under a Delusion, he did not the less bitterly inveigh against the “baleful Influence of the Crown,” which, he said, had produced the Contest with America. That ruinous War constituted “the Pillar, constructed on the Ruins of our Constitution,” by which, as he asserted, the first Lord of the Treasury held his Situation. He concluded by calling on Ministers to state without Circumlocution or Deception, what were their Intentions as to the further Prosecution of the American War, and to give some general Idea of the Manner in which it was henceforward to be pursued. A sort of Pause took Place on his sitting down; while the Eyes of all present were directed towards the Treasury Bench, in the Expectation that either the Chancellor of the Exchequer, or the Secretary for the Colonial Department, would stand up, and make some Reply to these most pointed, as well as interesting Questions. But, Both sate silent, though from different Motives. In so critical a Moment, when the House seemed to demand an Explanation on the Point, the

Lord Advocate of Scotland presented himself boldly to public Notice. After denying in the most precise and explicit Terms, that the Address proposed, either pledged the Assembly to continue the War against the Colonies, or could be so interpreted; he proceeded to put hypothetically a Case, which might be said to withdraw in some Measure the Curtain of State from before the Cabinet, and to expose the Disunion that existed among its Members. “If,” said Dundas, “any Minister, accused of Mal-Administration, should set up as his Excuse or his Defence, that he was over-ruled in the Cabinet, and compelled by the Majority to act upon Opinions contrary to his own private Judgment, such an Apology cannot be admitted in this House. A Minister, who, in Order to preserve his Place, would submit to carry into Execution, Measures that he condemned, must not only be unworthy of his Situation; but, would thereby betray his Trust, and merit the Execration of his Countrymen.”

This Avowal, though qualified by Assurances that it was altogether general, and had not the slightest Allusion to, or the most in-

direct Authority from, the first Lord of the Treasury; yet disclosed the Secret already suspected or understood by the Opposition. Fox felicitated Pitt, whom he denominated *his Honourable Friend*, on having, by the Effect of his powerful Oratory, extracted from an Individual so nearly connected with Administration, the Declaration that the Address did not pledge Parliament to continue the War against America. But, Burke, in the Progress of a Speech, less marked by those Emanations of Genius which generally illuminated all that he uttered, than distinguished by its intemperate Violence, endeavoured to prove that the proposed Address *did* bind the House to prosecute offensive Hostilities with France and America. He declared the Address itself to be a Compound of Hypocrisy, and of infamous, abandoned Falsity. Nor did he fail to paint in the warmest Colours of a distempered Imagination, the Punishments which, he asserted, would be inflicted on the unhappy Loyalists, deserted by us, and left under Lord Cornwallis's Capitulation, to the Mercy of the Congress. Their slaughtered Remains, he said, would be exposed on all the Headlands. Notwithstanding these combined Efforts, which were sustained by Kep-

pel and by Mr. Thomas Townsend, the Minister divided on both Evenings, in a large Majority ; the *Address* being carried by 89, in a full House where 347 Members were present. Only 185 attended the *Report*, of which Number, 131 supported Administration, while the Minority did not exceed 54.

Nevertheless, the Contest with America might be considered as virtually arrested, though not ostensibly terminated. More than one Member, known to be ardently attached to the Crown, as well as to the existing Government, declared his Disapprobation of any further Attempt to carry on military Operations beyond the Atlantic. Lord Nugent said, it would now be politic to acknowledge the Independence of the Colonies. Courtenay, though holding a Place under the Master General of the Ordnance, not only avowed that he never had considered the War against America, as expedient, politic, or wise ; but, added, that he only voted for the Address, on the Assurances given by Persons in Office, that it did not pledge to the Prosecution of Hostilities for the Purpose of subjugating America. Lord North himself, two Days afterwards,

explicitly stated, when addressing the House, that they were not bound by their two recent Votes, to carry on either the American, or any other War; simply to provide for the necessary Expences of the Government. But, though the Continuance of *offensive* Hostilities in America, was thus unequivocally renounced by the First Minister, and virtually or silently acquiesced in by Lord George Germain; yet, so far did they seem from professing a readiness to acknowledge the *Independence* of the thirteen Colonies, that they warmly maintained the Wisdom and the Necessity of still prosecuting a *defensive* War in that Portion of the Globe. In the House of Peers, a still greater proportionate Majority supported Administration. When Fox, presuming on the Operation of the recent Misfortune in the Chesapeake, soon afterwards attempted to stop the Progress of the Supplies, in which Effort he was warmly supported by Mr. Thomas Pitt, the Opposition experienced a second Defeat; only seventy-seven Persons voting with them, while Lord North had one hundred and seventy-two. It seemed indeed by no means clear, during the first Fortnight after Parliament met, whether any official Change

whatever would take Place; or if an Alteration should be made in the Cabinet, to what Extent it would be carried. The national Forces, exhausted by so long a Contest, and now opposed in every Quarter by a vast Confederacy, were indeed evidently unequal to continue the Effort for subjecting America; and it therefore became obvious, that new *Measures* must speedily supersede those which had been prosecuted during so many Years. But, the same *First Minister* might remain in Power, under a total, or a partial Change of System; and in that case, all the Labors of the Minority would be frustrated, in the Moment of their expected Completion. The King's Firmness and Tenacity were well understood by all Parties. Lord North shewed hitherto no Disposition to resign, and Parliament had given no Indications of having withdrawn their Confidence from the Administration. Such appeared to be the Aspect of public Affairs, in the first Week of December.

[1st—10th December.] Though Fox and Pitt seemed at this Time to act in perfect political Union, yet no Man who attentively considered the different Spirit which ani-

mated their Speeches, whenever the Sovereign became indirectly the Subject of their Animadversion, could fail to remark their widely dissimilar Line of Conduct. Fox, whether he was impelled by his Consciousness that the King's moral Repugnance to many Parts of his private Character, and to the Irregularities of his Life, imposed insurmountable Obstacles to his ever attaining the Royal Favor; or whether, having already offended in his political Capacity, beyond the Hope of Pardon, he relied solely on his own Talents, aided by Party, to force his Way into the Cabinet, and to maintain himself in that Situation;—which ever of these Motives principally actuated him, it is indisputable that in all his Allusions to the King, although he might affect to shelter himself under the Forms of Parliamentary Language, yet Fox always chose to consider him as animated by Passions and Sentiments unbecoming his Station, as well as incompatible with the Benignity which constitutes the most enviable Attribute of Royalty. Fox designated or characterized him in Fact, as under the Dominion of Resentment; unfeeling, implacable, and only satiated by the Continuance of War against his former Sub-

jects. In a Word, like James the Second, rather than William the Third : more as a Tyrant and an Oppressor, than as the Head of a free Country, the Guardian of a limited Constitution.

On the first Day of the Session, when an Address to the Crown was proposed by the Honorable Mr. Charles George Perceval, now Lord Arden ; “ Those,” said Fox, “ who are ignorant of the Character of the “ Prince whose Speech we have just heard, “ might be induced to consider him as an “ unfeeling Despot, exulting in the horrid “ Sacrifice of the Liberty and the Lives of “ his People. The Speech itself, divested “ of the Disguise of royal Forms, can only “ mean, ‘ Our Losses in America have been “ most calamitous. The Blood of my Sub- “ jects has flowed in copious Streams, “ throughout every Part of that Continent. “ The Treasures of Great Britain have been “ wantonly lavished ; while the Load of “ Taxes imposed on an overburthened Coun- “ try, is become intolerable. Yet will I “ continue to tax you to the last Shilling. “ When, by Lord Cornwallis’s Surrender, “ all Hopes of Victory are for ever extinct,

“ and a further Continuance of Hostilities
“ can only accelerate the Ruin of the British
“ Empire, I prohibit you from thinking of
“ Peace. My Rage for Conquest is un-
“ quenched, and my Revenge unsated: nor
“ can any Thing except the total Subjuga-
“ tion of my revolted American Subjects,
“ allay my Animosity.’” When we consider
the Severity and Acrimony of these personal
Imputations, we cannot wonder that they
excited corresponding Sensations of Resent-
ment in the Royal Bosom. What Accusa-
tions more wounding could we frame, what
Motives of Action more atrocious could we
suppose, and what Language more abhor-
rent to our Feelings, could we have attri-
buted to that Monster, whose Crimes so
long desolated France and Europe, than
are here supposed to animate George the
Third! It must be admitted even by his
greatest Admirers, that Fox, however emi-
nent were his Talents, yet by the Want of
Moderation and Judgment, sentenced him-
self during his whole Life, to perpetual Ex-
clusion from Office; verifying in his own
Person, Juvenal’s Remark upon the Injuries
attendant on Eloquence, when he says,

“ *Torrens dicendi Copia multis,
Et sua mortifera est Facundia.*”

Pitt, on the contrary, even when he appeared to be most animated by Sentiments of Indignation against the Measures, or the Ministers ; yet repressed any intemperate Expressions, and personally spared the Sovereign. He pronounced indeed in the most unqualified Terms, his Abhorrence of the further Prosecution of the American War ; and on one Occasion I recollect his solemnly invoking the Divine Vengeance on the Heads of the Administration, who had reduced the Empire to such a State of Ruin and Degradation. But, with consummate Ability, he separated the King from his weak or evil Counsellors ; admitted the Purity of Intention by which he was ever impelled ; professed his ardent Attachment to the Person, as well as to the Family, of the reigning Monarch ; and declared that it would be best manifested, by exposing the Delusion that had been practised on him. The Lord Advocate of Scotland, whose distinguishing political Tact, and keen Discernment in all Matters where his own Interest or Ambition were concerned, ena-

bled him to descry a Minister in Embryo ; appears early to have been impressed with a Conviction of this characteristic Difference between the two Opposition Leaders. While he continued strenuously to support an Administration, the certain approaching Fall of which, he nevertheless probably anticipated ; he lavished the warmest Encomiums from the Treasury Bench, on the hereditary Talents, the brilliant Oratory, and early Indications of Genius, in Pitt ; under whose Protection, aided by his own parliamentary Powers, he speedily contrived, after Lord North's Resignation, to re-appear on the ministerial Theatre.

Notwithstanding the ostensible Degree of Harmony and Concert which seemed to animate Ministers in the House of Commons, during the first Days of the Session ; yet before the Middle of December it began to be apparent, that some essential Disunion of Sentiment prevailed among the Members of Administration. Lord North in fact *might* continue, as many Persons imagined, first Minister, after the Avowal of American Independence. But, Lord George Germain *could not* by any Possibility, re-

main in Office a single Day after such a Recognition. At this Breach the Opposition poured in, and were aided by some of the Adherents of Government, who conceived that by separating the two Ministers, and dismissing the latter, Lord North could yet be preserved at the Head of His Majesty's Councils. Sir James Lowther having introduced a Motion on the 12th of December, tending to declare that "All
" further Attempts to reduce the Ameri-
" cans to Obedience by Force, would be
" ineffectual; and contrary to the true
" Interests of the Kingdom;" after a long and very animated Debate, the *Order of the Day* could only be carried by a Majority of Forty-one, in a crowded House, where four hundred Members were present. Some of the Circumstances attending that Discussion, were in themselves so interesting, as to lay peculiar Claim to Commemoration. Neither the personal Character, the Talents, nor the Eloquence of the Member for Cumberland, who originated the Question, could powerfully recommend it to Attention. But, it was far otherwise with the Individual who seconded it. Sir James Lowther's prodigious Property, and that only, gave Weight to his Exertions. Mr.

Powis, who represented the County of Northampton, combined very considerable Parliamentary Ability, with a most independent and upright Mind.

Never can I forget the Effect produced by his Citation from Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," as applicable to the calamitous Position of Great Britain! With consummate Judgment he selected some Passages of the celebrated Historian in Question, extracted from the Reigns of Honorius and of Valentinian the Third, which seemed almost prophetically to depict or to describe the Events of the Hour, under George the Third. The Incapacity of the Government, the Contempt into which it had fallen with foreign States, the rapid Encrease of Taxation, the Corruption of the Senate, the Expenditure of Treasure, the Loss of Provinces, and the Pertinacity of the Sovereign in continuing a hopeless Contest with his revolted Subjects;—all these Facts, so apposite in themselves, were quoted, or rather were read by Powis in his Place, and constituted a Part of his Speech. Their Operation was perfectly theatrical. A Pin might have been heard to drop, such was the Silence, while

he pronounced it; and it seemed to spread a Sort of Dejection over the ministerial Side of the Assembly. Gibbon himself, who unconsciously furnished these Weapons against his Friend the first Minister, and who was at the very Time a Member of the Board of Trade; was personally present in the House. He had ceased at the last general Election, to represent a Cornish Borough, Leskeard, for which he was chosen in 1775, and now sat for Lymington. Lord North was so sensible of the Injury resulting from Powis's Appeal to the Passions of the House, sustained by the Artillery which he had borrowed from Gibbon, that he rose immediately, in Order to efface the Impression. In the Course of a laboured, able, and well considered Address, he endeavoured to demonstrate that the Motion, if carried, would incapacitate and cripple the Administration; which, if precluded, or prohibited from carrying on any military Operation on the American Continent, could not successfully combat our foreign Enemies in that Quarter of the Globe. But, he at the same Time declared his Opinion, that no further Hostilities ought to be persisted in, for the Reduction of the Colo-

nies, by sending Troops into the Interior of the Country. The Weakness of Government, and their Apprehensions of the Defection which might manifest itself among their Adherents, were sufficiently displayed by Lord North, in only moving the *Order of the Day*, instead of giving a direct Negative to Sir James Lowther's Proposition.

Burgoyne was not merely animated, but, personal, as well as pointed, in his Animadversions on Lord George Germain; and even by unavoidable Implication, on the Sovereign himself, whom he clearly designated in Terms too plain to admit of Mistake. After examining, as a Soldier and a Tactician, the Plan proposed by Ministers, for retaining Posts in America, and prosecuting a Species of defensive Warfare, he subjoined, "These Observations may be called military Remarks; but, let the House remember, that they are addressed to a military Secretary of State. The Country has not forgotten that he *was* a Soldier, the Country feels that he *is* a Counsellor." Having expressed his Apprehensions for the impending Fate of Gibraltar, invested by the Forces of France and Spain, he made a Recanta-

tion of his Error in ever approving or aiding the Attempt to subjugate the Colonies ; adding, “ I am now convinced, on a full
“ Consideration of the Measures pursued
“ by Ministers, as Time has developed their
“ System, that the American War constitutes only a Part of a general Plan levelled against the Constitution of Great
“ Britain, and against the universal Rights of
“ Mankind.” Dundas having professed that Lord North’s Declaration relative to future Hostilities beyond the Atlantic, had fully satisfied his Mind ; protested, that had not the Chancellor of the Exchequer thus unequivocally renounced all further Attempt to reduce the Colonies by offensive Operations, he must have voted on the Side of Opposition. But, Burke, with great Powers of Wit, treated the Lord Advocate’s Assurances, as a Subject of Derision. “ An American
“ War,” exclaimed Burke, “ you must still
“ have ; but, as Parliament has at length become dissatisfied with the Manner in
“ which it was carried on, we will change
“ the Plan, say Ministers. An American
“ War you must still have. We will give
“ you your Diet differently dressed ; but, it
“ shall nevertheless be the American War.

“ Having squandered seventy Millions in one Way, we will now expend seventy Millions more in another Way.” Fox, as well as Barré, exposed with equal Force, the fallacious, or loose and unsatisfactory Protestations of the first Minister. Lord George Germain at length rose; and the House, anxious to hear his Sentiments, though the Evening was then very far advanced, lent him an attentive Ear. As this Speech may be deemed the last that he pronounced in his own Defence, while Secretary for the Colonies; and as I listened to it with more than ordinary Interest, I shall commemorate some Passages of it.

He began by professing his Coincidence of Opinion with Lord North, as to changing prospectively the Mode of carrying on the War; a Sentiment, in which, he added, *all* the King’s confidential Servants were united: but he contended, that though Circumstances justified and dictated such an Alteration of System, he could not concur in evacuating New York, Charles Town, and the other invaluable Possessions on the American Coast, still retained by Great Britain. “ If,” continued he, “ the House

“ should adopt the Motion proposed, I will
“ instantly retire, as I consider it to include
“ a Resolution of altogether abandoning the
“ American War; and let the Consequence
“ be what it may, I never will put my Hand
“ to any Instrument conceding Independ-
“ ence to the Colonies. My Opinion is that
“ the British Empire must be ruined, and
“ that we never can continue to exist as a
“ great, or as a powerful Nation, after we
“ have lost or renounced the Sovereignty
“ over America. By this Opinion I will
“ abide, because I am resolved to leave the
“ People their Country.” George Byng hav-
ing, somewhat indecorously, and certainly in
a Manner unauthorized by the Forms of
Debate, said across the House, “ You will
“ not leave us any Country;” Lord George,
irritated, instantly with considerable Emo-
tion, exclaimed, “ If the Honorable Gen-
“ tleman believes himself warranted in im-
“ peaching me, let him do it! But, let him
“ do it in the Way warranted by the Consti-
“ tution. Let him not convoke the People
“ without Doors, and address *Them* to
“ change the Administration! It is the Pro-
“ vince of this House, with the Dignity be-
“ coming its Character, to adopt a constitu-

“ tional Measure. Let the House address
“ the Throne, if they think proper. If Mi-
“ nisters have merited it, let them be dis-
“ missed, impeached, and brought to Pu-
“ nishment. But, do not, from Party Vio-
“ lence injure the Constitution, and risk
“ the Subversion of the Country.” These
were nearly his Words, at the Conclusion of
which he sate down. Mr. Byng, far from
excusing the Interruption, justified it. “ The
“ noble Secretary,” said he, “ calls on me
“ to impeach him. Let him only turn his
“ Eyes on those Persons who surround him,
“ and he will perceive the Reason that he is
“ not impeached. He will see a Phalanx of
“ hired Supporters, ready to protect him, or
“ any other Minister, against the Effects of
“ the American War. Give us only an
“ honest Parliament, and we should then
“ see if Security and Impunity would result
“ from Impeachment.” No Notice was taken
of these severe Imputations thrown upon
the House, and the Debate soon afterwards
closed. But, it became apparent how weak
were the Foundations on which Lord North’s
Power rested, when the Defection of so in-
considerable a Number of Individuals as
Twenty, going over from the Ministerial

Ranks, to the Opposition Side, would have laid him at the Mercy of his Enemies. And under the deplorable Circumstances of the War, of the Finances, and of the Country, there existed little Hope of a counter Desertion back to the Party of Government. Already the Minority anticipated with a Sort of Certainty, the approaching, if not the imminent Fall of Administration.

[14th December.] Nor was the Paucity of Numbers, the only Symptom that announced a ministerial Crisis. Two Days subsequent to the late Division, when the Secretary at War laid before the Committee of Supply, the Estimates of the Army; another Discussion of the American Question took Place, more decisive, if possible, than any which had yet arisen. Rigby and Dundas acting on this Occasion in Concert, called on Lord North to state in his Place, the Difference of Opinion which was presumed to exist in the Cabinet. Both of them at the same Time avowed and admitted, that no further Hope could be entertained of subjecting America by Arms. The First Lord of the Treasury, while he admitted the War with the Colonies, to constitute the heaviest Cala-

mity of his Life, and expressed his warmest Wishes for the Attainment of Peace; neither owned, nor denied the Charge brought forward by the Lord Advocate of Scotland and Rigby, though he attempted to evade it under some loose and general Declarations. Wearied at length, and attacked no less by his Friends, than by his Opponents, he adopted the singular Expedient of quitting the Treasury Bench, and withdrawing to one of the Seats behind it; leaving Lord George Germain alone in that conspicuous Situation, exposed to the Attacks of the Opposition. So extraordinary a Scene, which spoke with mute Eloquence, and from its Peculiarity attracted all Eyes; left no Room to doubt of the Dissimilarity of Opinion among Ministers, on the great Question respecting America.

I feel strongly impelled, if I were able, to attempt to lay before Posterity, the leading Features of that most interesting Debate; during the Progress of which, the Disunion between the two Cabinet Ministers in the lower House, became for the first Time so apparent, as to necessitate Lord George Germain's speedy Resignation. He rose at an early Period of the Evening; compelled

by the Assertions and Accusations of Mr. Thomas Townsend, who maintained that the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Secretary of State held different or conflicting Opinions, relative to the System of Warfare prospectively intended to be prosecuted beyond the Atlantic. Lord George having so recently stated, with his characteristic Frankness of Character, the Ideas entertained by him on the Point, and his Determination never to recede from them, could add little to his preceding Observations. He said, that “ the King’s Servants were unanimous on “ one Point, namely, that it was inexpedient, “ and would be injurious to the Country, “ to withdraw the Forces from America.” But, Lord North, well aware that the only Chance of protecting the King from being compelled to surrender at Discretion, was to slip himself out of the present ruinous Contest; to allow the American Secretary to retire, and then with the royal and Parliamentary Support that he possessed, to endeavour to extricate the Nation from its actual Embarrassments;—Lord North, impelled by these Motives, held a more equivocal, oracular, and inexplicit Language. Fox, sustained by General Conway, endea-

voured to force from him a definite Reply to their Demands; and he underwent during some Time, a Species of cross Examination. But, such was his Ability and Address in eluding or evading the precise Questions put to him, that little additional Information could be extracted from his Answers. The House remained, if I may so say, *at Fault*. Pitt, with great Judgment, selected this Moment of painful Uncertainty, for his Appearance on the Scene. In Terms of Energy he pointed out the Contradictions of the two Ministers with each other, and of Lord North with himself. “ Here then,” continued he, “ we behold the Union and Harmony
“ between the Members of Administration.
“ One asserts that the Object of the Con-
“ test is not to be abandoned. The Other
“ gives a more qualified Interpretation to
“ those Words. The first maintains that
“ the Conquest of the Colonies is still to be
“ attempted. No, says the second, not to
“ be prosecuted by Force. Is it possible
“ that Men, thus ignorant of, or unac-
“ quainted with each other’s Intentions, can
“ act in Concert, or be unanimous?”

It was on this Occasion, and not, (as I had

erroneously apprehended,) the first Time of of his ever speaking in Parliament; that Pitt, observing Welbore Ellis engaged in whispering Lord North and Lord George Germain; apparently with a View of mediating between them, or reconciling their discordant Declarations; stopped short. Then looking round upon the House, which was hushed in mute Attention, he said, with a Manner and in a Tone still more impressive than the Reproof, “ I shall wait
“ till the Unanimity is better settled; and
“ until the sage *Nestor* of the Treasury
“ Bench, has brought to an Agreement, the
“ *Agamemnon* and the *Achilles* of the Ame-
“ rican War.” The Observation, which, independent of its classic Beauty and its Severity, arose out of an Accident, impossible to have been foreseen, could not therefore be premeditated. Its Effect was electric, not only on the Individuals to whom it was personally directed, but, on the whole Audience. The two Ministers and the Treasurer of the Navy, in some Confusion resumed their former Attitudes. We cannot sufficiently appreciate or admire the perfect Self-possession, which, while addressing a crowded House of Commons, could dictate

to a Youth of little more than two and twenty, so masterly an Allusion. The Conclusion of his Speech breathed not a little of the Spirit of his deceased Father, while he seemed to lance the Vengeance or the Indignation of a suffering and exhausted Nation, on the Heads of Ministers; invoking in the same Moment, the divine Protection on “a great and innocent Family, who, though they have not participated in the Culpability, may, and probably will be doomed to undergo the Consequences.”

Rigby now unmasked his Battery, meant unquestionably to accelerate Lord George Germain's Resignation; and thereby to enable the first Minister, released from the double Burthen of the American War and the American Secretary, to ride out the Storm. The Plan was ingenious, if not solid, and seemed to promise Success. No Individual in Office, had so great a Stake to defend as Rigby. During thirteen Years and a half, he had occupied the Pay Office without an Associate; and he could not contemplate without natural Apprehension, an Event so injurious to his own Interests, as would be the Dissolution of Lord North's

Administration. Yet, if any Opinion may be formed from the Encomiums which he lavished on Pitt's resplendent, hereditary Talents and Virtues, at the Opening of his Speech; the Paymaster of the Forces might be thought to anticipate, as not distant, a new Order of Things, where Pitt would probably occupy an elevated Place. Rigby then animadverted with Force, on the discordant Sentiments expressed by leading Members of the Opposition, relative to America; some of whom, (Fox and Burke,) loudly called for the Concession of Independence to the Colonies; while others, (particularly, Dunning,) declared that the Minister who should dare to propose such a Measure, would be guilty of High Treason. While however he pointed out these Contradictions of Opinion among the Minority, he coincided fully with Pitt, that an evident Obscurity pervaded the Conduct of the two noble Lords in Office, which appeared to indicate Dissimilarity of Ideas. And he said that the House, as well as the Country, had a Right to demand Explanation. Still he maintained, we were not ripe for withdrawing the Troops from America. Nor could all Fox's Blandishments induce him

to suggest a Motion, by which, both Sides of the House concurring in it, as a Parliamentary Declaration, Ministers might be bound down in their future Conduct towards the Colonies. But, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, who was seated on the Treasury Bench, between the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the American Secretary; and who could not, any more than Rigby, look forward unmoved, to his own Fate, which must be involved in the Fall of the first Minister; answered to Fox's Invitation. Coming forward on this critical Occasion, with that manly Openness of Character, which, if not natural to him, he knew so well how to assume when it suited his Purpose, Dundas reiterated all the Sentiments already expressed by his Friend. "If," said he "there is any one of His Majesty's Cabinet, base enough to remain in Office, and to conduct Measures that he disapproves or condemns, be he who he will, he is unfit for Society." A Declaration so pointed, though ostensibly directed against both the Ministers, was in Fact intended only against one, Lord George Germain. If its Intention could indeed have been doubtful, Lord North's Act in removing from his accus-

tomed Place, to another Seat, while his Colleague remained at his Post, would have sufficiently explained the Mystery. This Piece of *Dumb Shew*, one of the most curious that I ever witnessed on that political Stage, the House of Commons, lasted for more than three Quarters of an Hour, while the Debate continued, or rather, languished. But, not one Word was uttered in further Explanation, by either of the two Ministers. How far Rigby's and Dundas's Conduct was concerted with, or in any Manner previously known to Lord North, I cannot presume to assert. Nor did Lord George Germain, as I believe, ever attain any Certainty on the Point. Probably it arose from their own View of Affairs, and was undertaken without communicating the Intention to the first Minister, though designed to facilitate or effect his Extrication. The Division which took Place on the Army Estimates, was carried by a very considerable Majority in Favor of Government, the respective Numbers being 166, and 84.

From that Evening, on which I accompanied him to his Residence in Pall-Mall, when he quitted the House of Commons,

Lord George with Reason considered his official Capacity as virtually terminated, though he continued to exercise its indispensable Functions, till a Successor should be appointed to the Department. The two Houses having shortly afterwards adjourned for the Christmas Recess, he came to a full Explanation with Lord North. At that Interview, after professing his Readiness to remain in his Situation, as long as it could be beneficial to His Majesty's Service, while the Independence of America was not formally recognized; he at the same Time earnestly besought Lord North to consider no Object, except the Preservation of the Ministry, and the Interests of their common Master. For that Purpose, he advised the first Minister to strengthen himself by a Negotiation with some of his political Enemies; and not to allow any personal Considerations towards him (Lord George), to delay, or to impede, for an Instant, the Arrangements judged to be proper for the general Security. Adding, that he had no personal Stipulations to make, nor Favors to ask; and that he would go down immediately to his Seat at Drayton in Northamptonshire, for two or three Weeks, in order

to allow Time to select a Successor for his Post ; after which he would return, and deliver up the Seal of his Office, on the shortest Notice, into His Majesty's Hands. As the best Proof of his Sincerity in these Opinions, he left London a very few Days subsequent to the above Conversation.

[20th December.] It must be confessed that something unpropitious seemed to overhang the Councils, and to disconcert or overturn the best matured Measures of Administration, during the Course of the American War, so long as Lord North, Lord Sandwich, and Lord George Germain, presided at the Head of Affairs. This Remark or Admission may perhaps be considered as synonymous with pronouncing the Condemnation of those Ministers. But, it was indisputably Lord Sandwich's Fleet and Admiral, which gained the glorious naval Victory over de Grasse, only four Months later, though Fox and his Party received the Benefit of the Day. Just at the Time of which I now speak, Admiral Kempenfeldt having been dispatched with a Squadron of twelve Sail of the Line, in Order to intercept or engage a naval Force, intended by France for

the West Indies, fell in with the Enemy. As they had however been unexpectedly reinforced, so as to encrease their Numbers to eighteen Sail of the Line, Kempenfeldt could only capture some of the Transports, full of Troops, which he sent into our Ports. No sooner had this Intelligence reached London, than Fox indignantly protested in the House of Commons, that “ nothing short of *Treachery* could have produced an Event so disgraceful and ignominious. Incapacity or Ignorance could not alone satisfactorily explain it. An Enquiry, if not an Impeachment, must be instantly set on Foot, against such a first Lord of the Admiralty. How could they look their Constituents in the Face, if they had the Baseness not to address the Throne for his Removal?” Mr. Thomas Townsend asked, “ how Gentlemen could think of going out of Town to partake of Christmas Pastimes, at a Moment when, in his Opinion, the Fate of the Empire would be irrevocably sealed in twelve, or perhaps in six Months?” “ Adjourn to the 22d of next Month!” exclaimed George Byng, on a Motion to that Effect being made from the Treasury Bench; “ Good God! Mr. Speaker, at a Crisis like the present,

“ all the Wisdom of the Country is required
“ to extricate us. The first Lord of the
“ Admiralty has ignorantly dispatched only
“ twelve or thirteen Ships of the Line, to
“ meet an Armament of nineteen. Is this a
“ Measure to be tolerated?”—Képpel, who,
as a professional Man and a Seaman, could
not be ignorant that these Accusations were
exaggerated, if not altogether unjust, held a
much more temperate and measured Lan-
guage. He admitted that there did not ap-
pear to be any Treachery; but, he said,
there was palpable Neglect and Want of na-
val Skill in the Board.

Lord North, not at all disconcerted by
such a Load of Imputations, with great
Calmness and good Humor assured the
House, no less than Fox, that “ the noble
“ Individual who presided over the Admi-
“ ralty, far from wishing to avoid an En-
“ quiry, was most desirous to meet it.” In
a Speech of considerable Length, Lord Mul-
grave vindicated the Measure of sending out
Kempenfeldt, as in itself highly judicious,
though unforeseen Circumstances had ope-
rated to prevent its complete Success. But,
Bamber Gascoyne, irritated at the harsh

Epithets which Fox had applied so generally to the Board at which he held a Place, and not restrained by any Delicacies where his own Character was in some Measure compromised, handled the Opposition Leader more roughly. “The Honorable Member,” said Gascoyne, “is pleased to assert, that we “have never yet sent out an equal naval “Force, since the Commencement of the “War, to meet the French. Has he forgotten *the 27th of July?* And when Admiral “Darby was dispatched to the Relief of “Gibraltar, if his Ships were so inferior to “the Enemy in Number as is pretended, the “Honorable Gentleman would do well to “*enquire among his Friends in France*, why “they did not give us the Meeting. Hard “Words are easily used; and the Admiralty “may be stigmatized from the other Side of “the House, as negligent, ignorant, corrupt, “and treacherous. With more Reason, and “at least as much Truth, may *They* be denominated *the Friends of Mr. Laurens, and “the Correspondents of Dr. Franklin.*” After a protracted Conversation, rather than a Debate, accompanied on both Sides with much Acrimony, the first Minister was allowed to carry his proposed Adjournment; but, not

till George Byng, without a Division, had moved and carried, to call over the House on the 21st of January. Such were the humiliating Circumstances that attended, and ushered in the last Scene of Lord North's expiring Administration !

[21st December—21st Jan. 1782.] After the Surrender of Lord Cornwallis, and the virtual Resignation of Lord George Germain, it might naturally be supposed that the first Lord of the Treasury would lose no Time in endeavouring to repair the Breach, and to strengthen himself previous to the Meeting of Parliament after the Christmas Holydays. Necessity dictated Measures of Energy, and the Respite which the Recess allowed for private Negotiation, afforded him Time for making every requisite Stipulation. Nevertheless, Lord North, though he did not either oppose, or refuse, by no Means however positively accepted, even the Resignation of the American Secretary. And when Lord George returned to London from Northamptonshire, towards the Middle of the ensuing Month ; to his no small Astonishment, he found his Office still undisposed of, and his Successor not more fixed than be-

fore he quitted the Capital. He therefore waited patiently, till the Progress of Events should propel the Indecision, or hasten the Procrastination, of the first Lord of the Treasury.

Perhaps no Part of Lord North's Administration, and no Feature of his Conduct as first Minister, during the twelve Years that he continued in Office, seems more extraordinary; it might be even said, inexplicable; than this Loss of Time at so critical a Juncture. He well knew the Opposition to be principally composed of two Parties, called after the Names of their respective Leaders, Lords Rockingham and Shelburne; which Bodies of Men, though they agreed in endeavouring to dispossess him of Power; agreed in no other speculative or practical Principle of Policy. Scarcely could they even be withheld from mutual Animosity, by the near Prospect of the Prize in View. If therefore, the Point of American Independence was once conceded by Ministers, there seemed to be no obvious Impediment that could withhold Lord Shelburne from accepting a Situation under Government. It was even well known, that he entertained

and avowed very strong Doubts, on the Propriety or Wisdom of making such a Concession to the Colonies, under any possible Circumstances; Doubts which were re-echoed by his Adherents in the House of Commons; particularly by Dunning. He could not, therefore, it was presumed, be altogether unacceptable to the King. He was, besides, a Man of great Abilities, the professed Disciple of the late Earl of Chatham, and possessed considerable Parliamentary Interest. Lord North held in his Hand, various Means of conciliating and acquiring his Support. Besides the Post of Secretary of State, and a higher Rank in the English Peerage, to both which he might aspire; *four Garters* were then lying on the King's Table, unbestowed; *one* of which Lord Shelburne actually seized on, as his Share of the Plunder, when he came into Ministry, within three Months from the Time of which I speak. All these Circumstances seemed therefore to point out that Quarter, as the obvious Point of Application.

I have had many Opportunities of discussing this Question, with those who were well informed in the secret Springs and His-

tory of Lord North's Administration. But they differed in their Solution of the Difficulty. It has been confidently asserted, that the King objected to disposing of one of the vacant *Garters* in Favor of Lord Shelburne; and absolutely refused to consent to it, when the Proposition was made to His Majesty, by the Minister. We must likewise recollect that George the Third, who at this Time had scarcely reigned more than twenty-two Years, was encouraged by his past Experience to imagine, that he might retain a Minister to whom he was attached, in Defiance of Unpopularity. In Fact, Lord North, from his first Entrance on Office, early in 1770, down to his final Resignation, never had been popular. Nor can we well doubt that if he had felt as strong a Desire to retain his ministerial Situation, and a Mind as determined to abide the Issue, as his royal Master manifested, he might have held out 'till the Victory of the 12th of April, would have raised the Siege. Sanguine Hopes were likewise entertained at St. James's, that even though all further Attempts to subjugate America should be abandoned, yet that the same Administration might still continue to conduct the national

Affairs. Nor was it at all clear that such Expectations were chimerical. The Session of 1779 had sufficiently proved, that even after being left in a Minority, on more than one great public Question, a Minister who wished to remain in Office, possessed the Means of doing it, almost in Defiance of the House of Commons. If America was admitted to be independent, and that great Impediment once removed, Peace would probably follow at no long Interval; and however unfortunate he had been in carrying on the War across the Atlantic, Lord North might still conclude an honorable Pacification with our European Enemies. In the House of Peers, he possessed a decided Majority; and in the lower House of Parliament, which had been recently elected, when once Government became emancipated from the American War, it was with Reason conceived that the Opposition would again diminish in Energy, as well as in Numbers. These Reasons, however destitute of Solidity they proved, if we try them by the Event, may perhaps satisfactorily account for Lord North's seeming Supineness, in not endeavouring, at so critical a Moment, to

divide his Opponents, or to augment his own Strength.

[21st—31st January.] When Parliament met again for the Dispatch of Business, Lord George Germain therefore attended in his Place, in the House of Commons: but the Tide of Opposition, which had been so long principally directed against *him*, as the American Secretary, took at first another Direction. Lord Sandwich was in turn attacked by Fox, for his asserted Mismanagement of the Admiralty Department; and the first Minister, unable to shelter him from Investigation, consented to institute an Enquiry. Fox said, that “as the naval Administration throughout the Year 1781, contained or exhibited an Epitome of all the Blunders committed during the Course of the War, he would, for the sake of Dispatch, confine his Accusations chiefly to that Period.” Lord North, while, with more of the Spirit of Concession, than of ministerial Firmness, he gave way upon every Point; yet not only denied the Culpa- bility imputed to the Earl of Sandwich, but, desired the House to observe that “his

“ noble Friend, as well as himself, was
“ ready and prepared to meet an Enquiry of
“ a much more comprehensive Description.”
Pitt joining on this Occasion, the general
Outcry raised against an obnoxious Mi-
nister, accused Lord North of attempting to
evade Enquiry, by withholding Evidence of
his Colleague’s Mal-Administration: but,
the chief Blame which could justly attach
to the first Lord of the Treasury, was the
too great Facility that he manifested in fur-
nishing Documents; many of which, when
laid on the Table of the House, though only
in Substance, were of a very delicate Nature.
The Solicitor General, and he alone, of all
the ministerial Supporters, had the Boldness
to oppose the Disclosure and Production of
such Papers. Undismayed by the aug-
menting Numbers of the Opposition, or by
the State of Depression to which he beheld
his Friends reduced; Mansfield, with an
Energy of Mind that extorted Admiration,
entered his Protest against an Enquiry which
demanded such preparatory Sacrifices. He
declared his Astonishment at, and Disap-
probation of, the Communications made in
Compliance with Clamour. “ By permitting
“ such an Investigation,” said he, “ and by

“ producing such Materials, we destroy the
“ British Constitution, and deprive ourselves
“ of the Benefits arising from an executive,
“ as distinct from a legislative Government.
“ As well might we permit all the Opera-
“ tions of the Campaign to be discussed in
“ this House, as to produce upon the Table,
“ and thereby disclose to the Enemy, the
“ secret Information procured by Ministers.”
But, this single Reclamation, unsupported,
proved wholly ineffectual to stem the Tor-
rent; and after considerable Discussion, the
7th of the ensuing Month was finally fixed
on for going into the Enquiry.

Among the most strenuous Defenders of
the first Lord of the Admiralty, on this Occa-
sion, was Lord Mulgrave; a Nobleman who
occupied, himself, a Place at that Board.
His early Expedition of Discovery towards
the North Pole, had given him some naval
Celebrity; and as he was formed on rather
a heavy colossal Scale, the Opposition, to
distinguish him from his younger Brother,
the Honorable Charles Phipps, who enjoy-
ed likewise a Seat in the House, denomi-
nated him “ Ursa Major.” They likewise
gave him the Name of “ Alphasibæus;” I

suppose, from some fancied Analogy between him and the awkward Imitator of the Dancing Satyrs, commemorated by Virgil, in the fifth Eclogue of his *Bucolics*. Lord Mulgrave was distinguished by a Singularity of physical Conformation, possessing two distinct Voices; the one, strong and hoarse; the other, shrill and querulous; of both which Organs he occasionally availed himself. So extraordinary a Circumstance, probably gave rise to a Story of his having fallen into a Ditch, in a dark Night; and, calling for Aid in his shrill Voice, a Countryman coming up, was about to have assisted him: but, Lord Mulgrave addressing him in a hoarse Tone, the Peasant immediately exclaimed, “ Oh, if there are two of you in “ the Ditch, you may help each other out “ of it.” In Debate, if not animated, he was able, well informed, and pertinacious. Like Dundas, he contrived, after Lord North’s Administration went to Pieces, to attach himself to Pitt; who, in 1784, made him Joint Paymaster of the Forces, and six Years later, raised him to the British Peerage.

Towards the last Days of January, after long Fluctuation, Lord North at length com-

municated to Lord George, His Majesty's Determination to consent to his Resignation, so repeatedly offered; and the Resolution taken to supply his Loss, by Mr. Welbore Ellis. It seemed difficult to have made a Selection, in Consequence of which less Strength would be acquired on the Side of Administration; Mr. Ellis's Talents being already engaged in Favor of Government, by a very lucrative Place, that of Treasurer of the Navy. His Abilities, however eminent and solid, aided by his long Experience of Parliamentary Business, were nevertheless, altogether unequal to contending in stormy Times, amidst universal Depression, with the vast Energies then collected on the Opposition Benches. He was, besides, far advanced in Years; and though his Faculties might have preserved all their Vigor or Freshness, he wanted the requisite Fire and Animation. His Appointment gave Satisfaction only to the Enemies of the Minister, who exulted in a Choice that proved the Paucity, or rather Nullity of the Sources, from which he now attempted to derive Support.

[February.] Just at this Period died Lord

Falmouth, at an advanced Stage of Life : a Nobleman, neither distinguished by his Talents or his Virtues ; but, whose Name, *Boscawen*, is connected with Naval Recollections of the most gratifying Kind. Lord Falmouth commanded the Yeomen of the Guard, at the Time of his Death ; but, my sole Motive for mentioning his Decease, is in order to commemorate an Anecdote respecting him. I have been assured, that towards the Conclusion of George the Second's Reign, when Mr. Pitt, afterwards created Earl of Chatham, occupied a principal Place in the Cabinet ; Lord Falmouth having waited on him, at his Levee, stated his Wish to be recommended to His Majesty, for the first vacant *Garter*. The Secretary of State expressing a Degree of Reluctance to lay the Request before the King, and manifesting some Disapprobation of the Demand itself ; " You will be pleased, Sir, " to remember," said Lord Falmouth, " that " I bring in five Votes, who go with Ministers " try in the House of Commons ; and if " my Application is disregarded, you must " take the Consequence." " Your Lordship " threatens me," replied the Minister with Warmth ; " You may therefore be assured,

“ that so long as I hold a Place in the
“ Councils of the Crown, you shall never
“ receive the Order of the *Garter*.” Then
turning round, he exclaimed, addressing him-
self to those near him,

“ Optat Ephippia Bos piger.”

Lord Falmouth comprehending Nothing
of the Meaning of these Words, but, conceiv-
ing that the Monosyllable *Bos*, must allude
to his Name, requested to be informed what
the Minister meant by so calling him? “ The
“ Observation,” replied Mr. Pitt, “ is not
“ mine, but Horace’s.” As little familiar
with the Name of the Roman Poet, as he
was acquainted with his Writings, Lord Fal-
mouth, apprehending that *Horace Walpole*
had said something severe or disrespectful
concerning him ; under that second Mistake,
“ If Horace Walpole,” said he, “ has taken
“ any Liberties with my Name, I shall know
“ how to resent it. His Brother, *Sir Robert*,
“ when he was alive, and first Minister, ne-
“ ver presumed so to treat me.” Having
thus expressed himself, he quitted Mr. Pitt,
leaving the Audience in Astonishment at the
Effect of his double Misapprehension.

Early in the Month of February, Lord George Germain having resigned the Seal of his Office into the King's Hand, received, in Recompense of his Services, the Honor of the Peerage. The Particulars attending that Elevation, which became immediately afterwards a Subject of Discussion in the upper House, I received on the same Day when they took Place, from Lord George's own Mouth; and they are too curious, as well as characteristic, to be omitted in these Memoirs. The Separation between the Sovereign and the Secretary, was by no Means unaccompanied with Emotion on both Sides; which became probably augmented by the dark Cloud overhanging the Throne, together with the painful Circumstances that produced the Necessity for Lord George's Resignation. The King, who could not shut his Eyes to these Facts, doubtless foresaw the Possibility, if not Probability, of greater Changes in the Administration, as imminent; of which, the Removal of the American Secretary, was only the Fore-runner and the Presage. After regretting the unfortunate Events that had dictated the Measure, and thanking Lord George for his Services; His Majesty added, "Is there

“ any thing that I can do, to express my
“ Sense of them, which would be agreeable
“ to you?” “ Sir,” answered he, “ if Your
“ Majesty is pleased to raise me to the
“ Dignity of the Peerage, it will form at
“ once the best Reward to which I can
“ aspire, and the best Proof of your Appro-
“ bation of my past Exertions in your
“ Affairs.” “ By all Means,” said the King,
“ I think it very proper, and shall do it
“ with Pleasure.” “ Then, Sir,” rejoined
Lord George, “ if you agree to my first
“ Request, I hope you will not think it un-
“ becoming, or unreasonable in me, to ask
“ another Favor. It is to create me a *Vis-*
“ *count*, as should I be only raised to the
“ Dignity of a *Baron*, my own Secretary,
“ my Lawyer, and my father’s Page, will
“ all three take Rank of me.” The King
expressing a Wish to know the Names of the
Persons to whom he alluded; “ the first,”
replied Lord George, “ is Lord Walsingham,
“ who, as Your Majesty knows, was for
“ some Time, Under-secretary of State in
“ my Office, when Mr. de Grey. The se-
“ cond is Lord Loughborough, who has
“ been always my legal Adviser. Lord
“ Amherst is the third, who, when Page

“ to my Father, the late Duke of Dorset,
“ has often sat on the Braces of the State
“ Coach that conveyed him, as Lord Lieute-
“ nant of Ireland, to the Parliament House
“ at Dublin.” The King smiled, adding,
“ What you say, is very reasonable, it shall
“ be so ; and now let me know the Title
“ that you choose.” “ I have already, Sir,”
answered Lord George, “ in the possible
“ Anticipation of Your Majesty’s gracious
“ Dispositions towards me, spoken to the
“ Duke of Dorset, and obtained his Per-
“ mission, as the Head of my Family, to
“ take the Title of *Sackville* ; having been
“ compelled to renounce my own Name, in
“ order to avail myself of the Bequest of the
“ Estate of Drayton in Northamptonshire,
“ made me by Lady Betty Germain, in her
“ Will. I shall therefore in some Degree
“ recover it by this Means.” “ I quite ap-
“ prove of that Idea,” replied his Majesty,
“ and if you will state to me your Title, I
“ will write it down, myself, before we part,
“ and send it directly to the Chancellor.”
The King immediately placed himself at a
Table, took the Pen and Ink lying upon it,
and having committed the *Viscounty* to
Paper, asked him what *Barony* he chose ?

Lord George answered, “ that of Bolebrook
“ in Sussex, being one of the most ancient
“ Estates belonging to his Family ; and
“ contiguous to Buckhurst, the original
“ Peerage conferred by Queen Elizabeth,
“ on his Ancestor, the first Earl of Dorset.”
When the King had copied it, he rose up,
and with the most condescending Expressions of Concern, as well as of Satisfaction, allowed Lord George to withdraw from the Closet. As this is one of the few Peerages, which, in the Course of half a Century, George the Third has been allowed to confer, wholly independent of ministerial Intervention or Recommendation, from the Impulse of his own Inclinations, its Origin and Creation attain an additional Interest. Lord North had not the smallest Share in the Business.

No sooner had the Intention of calling up Lord George Germain to the House of Peers, become publicly known, than the Marquis of Carmarthen immediately brought forward the Subject before that Assembly. He endeavoured to shew that it would be derogatory to their Honor, as a Body, to admit among them a Person still labouring under

the Sentence of a Court Martial: and though his Motion was rejected by a great Majority, on the 7th of February, yet he renewed the Attack as soon as Lord George had taken his Seat, on the 18th of the same Month. Conceiving that Lord North must, as first Minister, have advised the Measure, the Marquis attempted to involve him in the Responsibility or Culpability of giving such Advice to the Crown. But, Lord Sackville having exculpated the First Lord of the Treasury from any Participation whatever in the Transaction, gave the House clearly to understand, that it flowed solely from the Volition of the Sovereign. His Enemies themselves confessed, that never was a more able, dignified, or manly Appeal made within the Walls of the House of Peers, than Lord Sackville pronounced on that Occasion. He observed, that even admitting in all its Force, the Justice of the Sentence passed by the Court Martial, yet, that Tribunal had only declared him “ guilty of disobeying Prince “ Ferdinand of Brunswic’s Orders; and “ therefore had adjudged him *unfit* to serve “ His Majesty in any *military* Capacity “ whatever.” But, they neither had imposed, nor could they inflict upon him, any

civil Disability or Incapacity. And the Attempt of the King, or of the Minister of that Time, to aggravate the Nature or Expressions of the Sentence, by any harsh Additions and personal Comments, could not add to its Force. If, after considering the *Sentence* published in the Case of the General Officer, who commanded on the Expedition sent in 1806, against Buenos Ayres, we contemplate the Tenor of the *Orders* that accompanied it; and then compare them with those used in the Instance of Lord George Sackville; we shall perceive the Contrast presented by the Conduct of the two Sovereigns, in the strongest Point of View. Though General Whitelock was adjudged to be “cashiered, and declared “totally unfit *and unworthy* to serve His “Majesty in any military Capacity what-“ever;”—consequently, though the Sentence implies a much deeper Degree of Error or Culpability, than was attributed to Lord George Sackville at Minden, as well as a Fault far more clearly established and recognized; yet George the Third, unlike his Predecessor, subjoins no injurious Reflections, but, simply enjoins the Publication of it, as a Memorial and Warning to other Officers.

The Duke of Richmond, who took a very active Part in the second Debate upon Lord Sackville's Elevation to the Peerage; endeavoured to prove, from the Length of Time which elapsed after his Reception of Prince Ferdinand's Orders to advance, that Disinclination only on his Part to obey them, could have produced such a Delay. As the Duke had been personally present at Minden, and as he declared that he held his Watch within his Hand, during the whole Time lost in obeying the Prince's Orders, which, he asserted, amounted to an Hour and a Half; his Speech might have been expected to make an Impression on the House. But, only twenty-eight Peers could be found on either Debate, to support Lord Carmarthen's Motion; though the Number voting against it, rose from seventy-five to ninety-three, between the two Divisions, on the 7th and the 18th of February. It happened likewise, most unfortunately for the Duke of Richmond, that while he thus attempted to attack Lord Sackville's personal Courage, his own lay under very general Suspicion. He had brought forward, only a few Days before, in the House of Peers, the Case of an American Colonel Haynes, executed at

Charlestown, under Lord Rawdon's Authority, in the preceding Year. The Expressions or Assertions which His Grace used, when relating this Transaction, gave such Offence to the Nobleman against whom they were levelled, that he soon afterwards called the Duke to a severe Account. But, as he declined giving any individual Satisfaction for an Act done in his Parliamentary Capacity, Lord Rawdon compelled him to declare in his Place, that by his Accusation "he had not intended any Attack on Lord Rawdon's Justice or Humanity:" a Declaration, apparently at Variance with his preceding Charge. Lord George Lenox, as I know, entertained a very different Opinion of Lord Sackville's Behaviour at Minden, as well as of the Sentence pronounced on his Conduct, from the Ideas expressed by the Duke, his Brother. Not two Years after the Facts just related, had taken Place, I dined in a select Company with Lord Sackville and Lord George Lenox, at the House of a General Officer in London. When we went up to the Drawing Room after Dinner, no Entreaties could prevail on Lord George to walk first out of the Apartment. "As the Son of a Duke of earlier Creation, I would

“do it,” said he to Lord Sackville; but, as “a General Officer, nothing can induce me “to precede your Lordship.” Lord Sackville was restrained by the Exhortations and Advice of Lord Amherst, from calling on the Marquis of Carmarthen to answer to him personally, for his double Attack. I had the Honor to know him, before, as well as after, he became Duke of Leeds. He was a Nobleman highly accomplished, of the most pleasing Manners, of very elegant Deportment, of a lofty Mind, and of considerable Talents. But, the Part which he took on this Occasion, did not constitute the most commendable Act of his political Life. Posterity will form their Opinion on it, divested of Prejudice. His Contemporaries saw it merely through the Optics of Party, the most deceptive of all Mediums. While only twenty-eight Peers supported the Motion on both Occasions, nearly a hundred voted against it on the final Debate. These aggregate Numbers appear indeed small *to us*; but, we must recollect the limited Extent of the Peerage, compared with the present Times. It was neither Lord Bute, nor Lord North, but, Mr. Pitt, who augmented the Members of that House, if not with a pro-

fuse, yet unquestionably with an unsparing Hand. In 1782 there existed only one hundred and eighty-seven English Peers. We have now above three hundred. Perhaps, however, that Augmentation, great as it is, bears only a relative Proportion to the Encrease of national Revenue, Population, and Territory, within the last thirty Years.

[6th—20th Feb.] While Lord Sackville was *personally* attacked in one House of Parliament, the Earl of Sandwich underwent no less severe an Enquiry into his *official* Conduct, as first Lord of the Admiralty, in the House of Commons. Fox, acting as his Accuser, united the keenest Sarcasms, with the most able and laborious Investigation of the Naval Administration. He was sustained in all his Charges, by Mr. Pitt, by Admiral Keppel, and by Lord Howe. Under this Accumulation of Talent and of Eloquence, the Minister labored hard to protect his Colleague: but the House began to manifest some Indications of Reluctance to extend further Support. Animated by such obvious Symptoms of the Decline of Lord North's Influence in that Assembly, the Opposition renewed their Efforts. And

if they did not overthrow, they at least shook to its Base, the Ministry. After two Debates, protracted to a late Hour, in the first of which, the Members present, fell little short of four hundred, a Majority of only *twenty-two* appeared on the Side of Administration. In the second Debate, on the 20th of February, where more than four hundred and fifty Persons actually voted, a still smaller Majority, consisting only of *nineteen*, negatived Fox's Proposition, attributing "gross Mismanagement" to the Nobleman at the Head of the Admiralty. Two such Divisions, following close upon Lord Sackville's Resignation, afforded ample Triumph to the Minority, while they diffused proportionate Apprehension among the Adherents of Government.

I was present at both those Debates, and voted on both Evenings, with Ministers. Not that I either then thought, or am even now of Opinion, that no Degree of Error, perhaps, of Blame, might justly be attributed to the Earl of Sandwich. Fox assumed indeed, as a Principle, that "it was not necessary to criminate a Minister, in Order to address the Throne for his Removal from

“ Office. If he was incapable, or *unfortunate*, or *disliked*;—any one of those Causes constituted sufficient Reason for his Dismission.” That Lord Sandwich was eminently unfortunate in the Selection of naval Commanders, with almost the single Exceptions of Barrington and Rodney, cannot be denied. Nor was he more fortunate in saving our homeward and outward bound mercantile Fleets, many of which fell into the Enemy’s Hands. Neither did our Squadrons intercept, combat, and vanquish the Fleets of the House of Bourbon, as they had done during the preceding War. All these Facts must be conceded. It is equally true that he had incurred a great Portion of national ill Will, and had made inveterate Enemies, particularly in the Navy. He was become very generally unpopular in 1782. If therefore, those two Reasons are esteemed sufficient to call for his Dismission, no Doubt Fox had Reason on his Side. But, on the Article of Inability, his Attack was altogether untenable. Few Men of high Rank possessed and manifested more Energy, Industry, Enlargement of Mind, and Variety of Talent, than that Nobleman. He found, on coming into Employment, as Head of the

Admiralty, the Magazines and Store-houses of all the Dock Yards, exhausted, or empty. He replenished them. He had, by the Vigor of his Exertions, overcome the dangerous Combinations formed by the Workmen in the royal Yards. He had repaired near one Hundred and fifty Ships of War, during his naval Administration. But, Unanimity, Concord, Enthusiasm, he neither could preserve, nor create, nor revive, among the Officers under his Department. Probably, this Calamity originated more in the Nature of the War, than from the Fault of Lord Sandwich: the Obloquy and the Punishment however fell upon *him*.

The two Debates, of the 7th and the 20th of February, had, each, their peculiar Features. In the first, Fox performed the principal Part, as Lord Mulgrave did the second; one attacking, the other defending the Nobleman whose Administration was under Parliamentary Enquiry. Keppel said little; but, Lord Howe flung all his Weight into the Scale of Opposition. Pitt likewise added his powerful Eloquence to that Party. If ever I beheld Lord North in earnest, by which I mean, anxiously desirous to protect

and to justify his Colleague, it was on the Evening in Question. He doubtless felt, that having lost Lord George Germain, and only metamorphosed the Treasurer of the Navy into a Secretary of State, by which Transmutation, no Accession of Interest or of Ability would be gained to Government; —if Lord Sandwich should likewise be driven from his Situation, his own Continuance at the Head of His Majesty's Councils, must become very precarious. While however he highly justified, and even extolled the Earl of Sandwich's professional Services, he admitted that many of the most popular naval Commanders were unemployed and disgusted; but, he denied that their Disgust was by any Means attributable to Ministers. Sheridan availing himself with great Ingenuity and Promptitude, of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Assertion, called on the Admirals present by Name, and invoked them to declare the Reasons of their respective Retirement from active Service. Nor did he fail to represent Lord North's Expression, as insulting to those Officers, as well as deficient in Modesty or Decency. Lord Howe nevertheless declined to say one Word in Explanation of his own Motives for with-

drawing from Employment, though the House waited for some Moments, in silent Expectation of his gratifying their Curiosity. But, Pigot, either more irritated against the first Lord of the Admiralty, or more implicitly devoted to Fox, rose, and explained the Causes of his Dissatisfaction. They were singular, and obtained Belief, when he asserted that having made an Offer of his Services to Lord Sandwich, that Nobleman in Reply asked him for his Interest at the India House, where several of his own Friends were under Prosecution for having arrested and confined Lord Pigot, when Governor of Madras. “ On my refusing,” continued the Admiral, “ to take Part in
“ Favor of Men who had caused my Brother’s Death, Lord Sandwich, with a Sneer
“ informed me, that he would lay before His
“ Majesty, my Readiness to serve him : but
“ from that Hour, I have never received any
“ Answer.”

I have heard it confidently asserted by Persons who were conversant in the secret History of those Times, that between the first and the second Debate, Lord Sandwich received a Proposition, the Object of which

was to induce him to give in his immediate Resignation ; offering him, as a Recompense for this Service done to the Crown and to Administration, the Order of the *Garter*, together with a Pension of four thousand Pounds a Year for Life. I have not the least Doubt of the Truth of this Anecdote. Indeed, Fox alluded to it, in the Course of the second Discussion relative to the Nobleman at the Head of the Admiralty ; but he affected to consider it as merely a Report set on Foot by Ministers, in Order to serve the Purpose of the Day, and to mislead the Country Gentlemen with Promises or Expectations never intended to be realized. Lord Sandwich rejected the Proposal, though coming from Lord North ; and though the State of his private Fortune was so limited or so embarrassed, as by no Means to place him above the Necessity of looking to official Situation. Such a Rejection seems to indicate that he entertained the most sanguine, though, as the Event proved, the most fallacious Expectations, of the Duration of Ministry ; or that he grossly miscalculated his own Interests. In less than six Weeks afterwards, I saw his Furniture carrying off from the Admiralty, of

which official Residence, Keppel, just named his Successor, was taking Possession.

[20th February.] Fox, who opened the second Debate on Lord Sandwich, as he had done the first; elated, as it was natural he should be, at the Division on the preceding Question, began by observing that “under any other Administration than the present, the Number of Persons who had voted with Opposition on a former Night, would have been regarded as a Majority.” “For,” added he, “they certainly constituted the Voice of the People; nor would any Minister except the noble Lord in the blue Ribband, presume to retain a Man in Employment, against whom the popular Sentiment had been so loudly pronounced.” The Motion, which attributed great Mismanagement to His Majesty’s naval Affairs in the Year 1781,” was seconded by Pitt; and I believe, it forms the only Instance on Record, where the one of those two illustrious Individuals moved, and the other seconded the same Question, during their long Parliamentary Career. In the Progress of the Debate, Pitt took an active Part, enforcing with great Warmth,

the Proofs adduced of the Inability or Misconduct of the first Lord of the Admiralty. From every Quarter, Government was assailed. General Conway, Dunning, and Sheridan, united on the same Side, the Powers of Reason, Wit, and Argument; while Admiral Keppel and Lord Howe attacked in Detail, by a Statement of Facts, the official Administration of Lord Sandwich; which they stigmatized as deficient in Judgment, Energy, and Activity. Lord North remained silent: but, Lord Mulgrave maintained with no inconsiderable Ability, the Claims of his Principal, to national Respect, Approbation, and Gratitude. Dundas, who never absented himself, or shrunk from the Call of political Adherence, came forward manfully on the Occasion. It was however from another Individual that Administration received the most seasonable, as well as efficacious Aid. Sir William Dolben, whose double Capacity, as a Country Gentleman, and as one of the Representatives for the University of Oxford, gave him a proportionate Weight; though he admitted the alledged Mismanagement to be sufficiently proved by the Contents of the Papers laid on the Table, yet refused to

support a Motion for the Dismission of Lord Sandwich. Still less, he said, could he concur in a Vote for bringing that Nobleman to Trial. In vain Mr. Thomas Pitt, with the wheedling and querulous Eloquence which characterized him, endeavoured to demonstrate the Inconsistency or Contradiction of such a Line of Parliamentary Action. Vainly he tried to shew that no Man who concurred in finding the Culpability, could hesitate to punish the Offender. Sir William Dolben stopt short; declaring at the same Time, that he should not even support the present Question, if it was intended or understood to be a Preliminary to stronger and more personal Steps. It became therefore evident that there was a Point, at which Individuals who were of no Party, would make a Stand, and withhold their Support from Opposition.

[22nd February.] Every Day, from this Time down to the Hour when Lord North suddenly threw up the Administration of Affairs, was marked by the most violent Exertions on both Sides. Incredible Efforts were made to procure Attendance in Parliament. The Opposition, conscious that not

a Moment should be lost, allowed the Minister no Respite. Having compelled the Colonial Secretary of State to give in his Dismission, and impressed an indelible Mark of Parliamentary Condemnation or Censure on the first Lord of the Admiralty, they directed their next Operations against Lord North himself, as the Head of the State Machine. Scarcely forty-eight Hours after the last Debate on Lord Sandwich, General Conway introduced a Motion for addressing His Majesty, “to renounce any “further Attempts to reduce America by “Force.” Notwithstanding the Eloquence of the new Secretary of State, Mr. Ellis, who on this Occasion displayed very considerable Talents, it became impossible to induce the House to maintain the Contest. Burke, in Addition to all the Arguments suggested by the Nature of the Subject, and the exhausted Condition of Great Britain; oppressed the recently appointed Minister, under the Flashes of intolerable Wit, supported by the keenest Ridicule. Never on any Occasion was he more happy in his Allusions, or more pointed in his Irony! After felicitating Mr. Ellis on succeeding as Heir to the noble Viscount, at whose Feet he had

been brought up, and whose political Opinions he implicitly adopted; Burke compared him to a Caterpillar, who having long remained in a torpid State, within the silken Folds of his lucrative Employment as Treasurer of the Navy, now bursting his Ligaments, fluttered forth, the Secretary of the Hour. Pursuing this Comparison with inconceivable Humor, he directed the whole Force of his powerful Mind, in impelling his Audience no longer to support a hopeless, ruinous, and unavailing Conflict. I have always considered this Debate, as one of the most interesting of any at which I ever was present. General Conway performed the principal, but, by no means the most brilliant Part in it. The Opposition, during the Course of this great Siege, which in 1782 had already lasted nearly as long as the War of Troy, selected their Assailants for each progressive Attack, as Homer does his Heroes. The General, on whom fell the present Effort, was not distinguished by the Superiority of his Eloquence. Nevertheless, he drew universal Attention, when, addressing himself to the new Secretary of State for America, he demanded what were the Right Honorable Gentleman's Inten-

tions, or on what Principles he meant henceforward to conduct the Trans-Atlantic Contest. Nor was the Attention diminished, when, expressing his Apprehensions that in Mr. Ellis would survive all his Predecessor's political Sentiments, Conway exclaimed in the Words of Horace to the Roman Republic, after the Fury of the civil Wars,

O Navis! referent in Mare te novi
Fluctus? —

Lord John Cavendish was chosen to second the Motion. It must be owned that Ellis's Position demanded Talents of no common Order, to enable him to meet so severe and so formidable an Inquisition. The Opposition Rows, full in his View, were crowded with eager Candidates for Power, animated by Hope, and impelled by Ambition; while a deep Cloud overhung the Treasury Bench, and spread its chilling Influence over that Part of the House. The new, but, aged Minister, felt all the Awkwardness, Difficulties, and Embarrassment of his Situation. There was even some Degree of Ridicule attached to a Man of Seventy accepting such an Employment,

under the desperate Circumstances in which he had taken it, on Lord Sackville's Resignation. In Order to obviate these Objections, Mr. Ellis, after acquitting himself with great Circumspection, Gravity, and Ability, in the Course of a long Speech, finished by observing, that "he had come into the Office which he held, to employ the Remains of Vigor left him by Age and Infirmary, for the Benefit of the State." "I have now made," said he, "my Confession of Faith, and trust it may prove satisfactory to the House." Burke instantly fastened like a Vulture, on the Secretary's Declaration. "A Confession of Faith," observed he, "more obscure, more absurd, more incomprehensible, was never framed or delivered for the Delusion and Calamity of Mankind! Like Confessions of Faith of the same unintelligible Description, it can only be supported by Miracles. For, what Satisfaction has the *young* Secretary given to the House? Not one Word have we been able to extract from him, which the last American Minister has not told us, five Years ago. The Name may indeed be changed, and henceforward it may be denominated a French War, carried on in

“ the Fields of America : but, the fatal System remains unaltered.” Then fixing his Eyes upon Ellis, “ I may assert,” continued he, “ that the late Colonial Secretary, though called up by Patent to another House, still occupies in Effigy his antient Seat. There we behold him, with all the Plans for reducing America, thick upon him. He is the universal Legatee of the noble Lord, who has bequeathed to him all his own Projects ; nay, his very Language and Ideas ; his *ipsissima Verba*. He still lives and speaks among us, only transformed into the Appearance and Form of the Right Honorable Gentleman.”

Jenkinson having risen soon afterwards, with the Intention of explaining to the House, the precise Description of the War prospectively intended to be carried on beyond the Atlantic, and thus satisfying the Enquiries of Opposition ; observed, that “ his Idea embraced only *a War of Posts* ; to retain henceforward no regular Army in the Field ; but, while we kept Possession of certain military Positions, to attack the Enemy whenever any favorable Occasions should present themselves.” As Burke

had pounced upon the Secretary of State, so Fox started up to answer the Secretary at War. After congratulating the House and the Country, that *two Hundred and nineteen* independent Men had been found on the recent Question respecting the Nobleman at the Head of the Admiralty; he observed, that if the People would only consider the Number of Placemen and Contractors, who most unworthily occupied Seats in that Assembly, the late Division must be esteemed an unequivocal Majority against Administration. “I am however glad,” exclaimed he, “to have at length ascertained from the
“Speech of the Right Honorable Gentle-
“man that has just sat down, who is that
“evil Spirit which produces all our Calami-
“ties. It is *an Individual higher than the*
“*noble Lord in the blue Ribband:—for,*
“*that noble Person is only his Puppet, and*
“*acts under his Direction.* The Right Ho-
“norable Member has spoken out, and I
“will take the Word of a *Principal.* Those
“ostensible Ministers who occupy Seats on
“the same Bench near him, are merely *se-*
“*condary and subordinate Agents.* *That in-*
“*fernal Spirit which really governs, and has*
“*so nearly overturned this Country; a Spirit,*

*“ which, though not so visible as Ministers, is
“ far greater than them; has spoken through
“ the Mouth of the Right Honorable Gentle-
“ man. We now perceive that the War be-
“ yond the Atlantic, is to be prosecuted as
“ violently as heretofore; but it is to be car-
“ ried on with America, and not in Ame-
“ rica.”* Jenkinson rose, solely for the Pur-
pose of disavowing that he was animated by
any Spirit except his own, and the Debate
took a new Turn.

When we reflect on the Import of Fox's Expressions, and consider how obviously, or rather unavoidably they applied to the Sovereign;—if we further call to our Attention, that Fox was at that very Moment a Candidate for high Office, and became actually Secretary of State to the Prince against whom he had levelled such Imputations, within six Weeks after he used them in Parliament; we ought not to be surprized that His Majesty could not immediately obliterate them from his Recollection. Even had they been as well founded, as I consider them to have been erroneous or exaggerated, they were not the less contrary to every Dictate of Prudence. Pitt,

however violent and personal he might be against Ministers, yet observed Measures in his Indignation. The different political Fortune of the two Individuals, flowed principally from this opposite Line of Conduct. Fox, in the Ardor of his Pursuit, forgot that any Moderation was necessary, either towards the King, or towards Lord North. He ought nevertheless to have foreseen, how soon Contingencies might impel him to coalesce with the Minister, whom he now held up to national Aversion. And he should have remembered that it is easier to force the Barriers of State, than to stand firm within them. He seemed never to recollect that the Marquis of Rockingham's *first* Administration lasted scarcely ten Months. His *second* Possession of Power, was fated to be of much shorter Duration. So difficult is it, even under the British Constitution, to govern without the Consent or Inclination of the Monarch!

Lord North, who never wanted Presence of Mind, or betrayed any Defect of Capacity; and who knew that however odious the American War had become, he was personally beloved; endeavoured to stimulate

the Opposition to propose an Address to the Crown for his Removal, as being, He said, a Measure more advantageous to the State, than to leave him ostensibly possessed of Power, while his Hands would be fettered by Resolutions of the House. But, Fox and his Adherents well knew that they could not carry any such Proposition. They were only powerful upon one Point. Fox endeavoured on his Side, to induce the Lord Advocate of Scotland to vote with them for the Termination of the American War; charging him with Inconsistency, or with personal Animosity towards the late American Secretary, if he should now support the very Measures when proposed by Mr. Ellis, which he had reprobated from the Lips of Lord George Germain. It must be owned that Dundas lay open to that Imputation, as did Rigby; though they both justified themselves with Ingenuity. The Paymaster of the Forces, while he avowed that no Hope of reducing the Colonies to Obedience now remained, and professing at the same Time his ardent Desire of Peace, yet refused to tie up the Powers of the executive Government. Both the *Pitts*, William and Thomas, exerted their different orato-

rical Efforts on that Night, and might be considered as well entitled to

“ Pursue the Triumph, and partake the Gale.”

The former, dignified, impressive, collected, was always heard with a Sort of Veneration, as the living Substitute of him who under two successive Reigns had subjected our foreign Enemies, while he trampled Opposition under his Feet. The latter, solemn and declamatory, if not theatrical; sometimes whining, yet often appealing with great Effect to the Passions, or to the Understanding of the House, scarcely drew less Attention. Their joint Co-operation unquestionably conduced to the Success, which crowned the Party at the Conclusion of the Debate. On that Night, the American War may indeed be said to have virtually terminated; the Question being carried on the Part of Government, by only *one* Vote, though near three hundred and ninety Members divided. Many of those who supported the Minister, seemed not less rejoiced at the apparent Conclusion of the War, than the Persons on the opposite Side: and it has been supposed, with Reason, that Lord North

himself, whose Disinclination to prosecute Hostilities beyond the Atlantic, was well known; did not really regret, though he was necessitated to oppose, the Motion of General Conway. Far from manifesting any Intention of laying down his Office in Consequence of it, he performed one of the most important Functions of First Minister, only three Days afterwards, by opening the *Budget*, and proposing a Loan. It is true that he postponed the Task of stating the Taxes to be imposed; but he did not the less declare his Determination to continue at the Head of His Majesty's Councils: nor did those Persons who were most in his Confidence, either question his Sincerity, or doubt his Resolution.

[25th February.] Retaining, as it was natural that he should do, a deep and acute Recollection of the severe Investigation, (which Fox denominated *Chastisement*,) inflicted on him for the Terms on which he had concluded the Loan of the preceding Year; Lord North adopted every Precaution on the present Occasion, to protect himself from similar Animadversion. Instead therefore of allowing Individuals to make private

Offers, he preferred a close Subscription with two different Sets of Men, each ignorant of the Conditions proposed by the other. Notwithstanding this Renunciation of all ministerial Influence in the Distribution of any Part of the Loan, he by no Means succeeded in disarming his Opponents, or in silencing calumnious Imputations. George Byng attacked the Terms, as in themselves bad, though he admitted them to be far less exceptionable than those of 1781. But, Fox inveighed against “the Mode adopted by “the noble Lord, of limiting Loans to a few “Individuals, which he maintained to be “merely a Manœuvre of Government.” “Under that dark Cloak,” exclaimed he, “are concealed all the Douceurs given to “Members of this House, to Placemen and “Contractors. Here we may perceive how “the Majorities were procured, which have “voted the Prosecution of the American “War, as well as the Rejection of the Motions relative to the Navy.” Justly indignant at such a Charge, and conscious of the Rectitude of his ministerial Conduct, Lord North rose to repel the Accusation. “I “solemnly and seriously protest,” said he, “that so far from having negotiated the pre-

“ sent Loan with any View to Influence, I
“ have not, directly or indirectly, recom-
“ mended one Person for the smallest Share
“ or Portion of it. Nor do I even know by
“ whom the ostensible Contractors for it,
“ are supported in making their Payments.
“ Two Millions of it were indeed offered to
“ me, to be filled up with whatever Names I
“ might select; but I peremptorily refused
“ the Proposal.”

Still incredulous, or more properly to speak, determined not to be convinced, Mr. Thomas Townsend affected to suppose, that though the First Minister had not interfered personally in the Distribution of the Loan, yet the official Persons who surrounded him, were unable to make the same Declaration. “ Would the two Secre-
“ taries of the Treasury venture to assert,
“ that they had not recommended Indivi-
“ duals to fill the Lists of the ostensible
“ Contractors for the Loan?” This Question called up Robinson, who protested upon his Honor that he neither had recommended, nor would mention any Person to be placed on the List. Sir Grey Cooper reiterated the same Assurances; adding, that they could

not, even had they been so inclined, disobey the positive Injunctions of the first Lord of the Treasury. Burke pretended, notwithstanding such specific Declarations on the Part of Men in Office, to consider the Bargain as calculated to conceal, while it promoted, ministerial Influence. It is however well known that never was any Measure of Finance conducted on Principles more pure, disinterested, and wholly exempt from a View to sustain Administration. It was indeed so exempt from any Imputation or Reproach of that Nature, by the total Exclusion of Members of Parliament who had anticipated a Share in it, as to have occasioned in Consequence of the Disappointment, some mercantile Catastrophes, and even some more melancholy domestic or personal Scenes, over which I draw a Veil, Lord North having stated the Amount of the Loan, and the Nature of the Terms proposed, entreated of the House to excuse him if he did not enter on the Enumeration of his intended Taxes, for a few Days; “possessing,” he said, “neither Strength of Body, nor sufficient intellectual Power and Clearness of Understanding, to comply with the ordinary Practice of laying before

“ them on the same Evening, both the Loan
“ and the Taxes.” This Indulgence was
not denied him.

It became indeed apparent, that though a Majority of the House of Commons might be still disposed to support the Ministry, they were altogether weary of continuing that Contest for the Reduction of America, which during near seven Years had produced only an Accumulation of Expense, of Disgrace, and of Misfortune. But, on the other Hand, the Opposition soon discovered that the compulsory Termination of the American War, and the Resignation of Lord North, constituted by no Means, as they had flattered themselves, things synonymous, or inseparable. When General Conway, encouraged by the Event of his late Motion, brought the Subject again before the House, he indeed out-numbered the Minister on the Division, by *nineteen*, leaving him thus in a Minority.

[27th February.] On this Occasion Conway attempted to induce, or rather to oblige Dundas and Rigby to vote with him, by reminding them of their late Declarations

respecting the American War. And he observed, that “ if he might borrow an Allusion from the sacred Text, he should say “ that they, as well as many other Members “ of the House, had received the Gift of “ Tongues. Cloven Tongues had alighted “ upon them. Not, indeed, Tongues of “ Sincerity and Truth; but, *double Tongues*; “ one for Parliament; the other for private “ Society.” This singular Metaphor, drawn from such a Source, excited no ordinary Sensation. Lord North, who no doubt felt that his own Sincerity might become questionable at St. James’s, if he did not strenuously oppose the Motion; endeavoured by every Pledge and Assurance that he could give, to prove that Ministry had renounced all Intention of carrying on offensive War beyond the Atlantic. “ If, however,” he added, “ no Faith was lent to these Protestations, and that the Truth or Integrity “ of Ministers was doubted, it became the “ House to address the Crown for their “ Removal, and for the Appointment of “ Successors entitled to Parliamentary Confidence. Should this House,” continued he, “ withdraw from me the Confidence “ which they have so long reposed in me,

“ it will become my Duty, without staying
“ for an Address to remove me, to wait on
“ my Sovereign, to present him the Seal of
“ my Office, and to say, Sir, I have served
“ you long and zealously ; but, your Par-
“ liament will no longer confide in me.
“ Suffer me therefore to resign into Your
“ Majesty’s Hands, all my Employments,
“ in Order that they may be bestowed on
“ some other Person, who, with better Suc-
“ cess, though not with more Fidelity or
“ Zeal, will give Satisfaction to the Coun-
“ try.” Then adverting to Conway’s Re-
proach of the “ cloven Tongues.” He sub-
joined with more than common Emphasis,
“ I do not wish for the Support of any such
“ double-tongued Senators. I desire to
“ stand this Night, solely on the Merits of
“ my Cause. And I now call upon all my
“ Friends to put out of their View, every
“ Consideration personal to myself. Let
“ them vote according to the Dictates of
“ their unbiassed Judgment ! The Removal
“ of Ministers, forms no Punishment. His
“ Majesty has a Right to call to his Coun-
“ cils, or to exclude from them, whomever
“ he may please. I thank God, Mr. Speaker,
“ that mere Disgrace, in the ministerial Sense

“ of the Term, constitutes no Crime! The
“ Constitution has conferred on the King,
“ the Power of dismissing his confidential
“ Servants at his Pleasure: but, it has pro-
“ vided that the Dismission shall not entail
“ any Criminality; because in the Eye of
“ the Law, no Individual can be pronounced
“ criminal without a fair Trial.” Never, prob-
ably, in the Records of Parliament, was a
more manly, yet affecting Appeal made by
any Minister, to the Feelings and Principles
of his Audience. When Lord North sate
down, the Attorney General rose; and after
pointing out the Impediments that presented
themselves to an immediate *Peace* with the
Colonies, proposed a *Truce*, as at once more
judicious, beneficial, and practicable. He
added, that he had already prepared a Mo-
tion for Leave to introduce a Bill, enabling
the Ministers to treat on this Ground. And
with a View to Expedition, in Order that
not a Moment might be lost, he concluded
by moving that “ the present Debate be ad-
“ journed for a Fortnight.”

Alarmed at the Idea that in Consequence
of the Attorney General's Proposition, the
Prey which they had so nearly hunted down,

might yet escape them; the leading Members of Opposition fastened upon it with equal Violence and Ability. Pitt led the Way, and endeavoured to demonstrate, as he had done in preceding Debates, that no Confidence could be reposed in the ministerial Promises. “ Was there,” he demanded, “ one Assurance which they had not falsified? Was there any Plan of Operations in which they coincided? No! Their whole System was incessant Vacillation, in which the House could place no Trust.” With uncommon Ingenuity and Acumen, Dunning, who already beheld a Coronet, as Macbeth does a Dagger, marshalling his Way; and who within five Weeks afterwards, actually kissed the King’s Hand, on being raised to the Peerage;—Dunning attacked the Minister’s Speech, as the most unintelligible and incomprehensible Farrago, ever pronounced within the Walls of the House. He protested that he did not understand one Syllable of it; that it was a mere Specimen of human Duplicity, calculated for Purposes of State Deception, unworthy of Reply. His learned Friend, (Wallace’s) *Truce*, he treated as a wretched Stratagem of an expiring Party, only designed to allure over to the

Minister's Side, three or four undecided Votes. With persuasive Earnestness he entreated the Assembly to support the Motion proposed by Conway, as the only temperate and conclusive Measure for binding down the Administration. Fox added his Weight to these Arguments, and stigmatized the proposed *Truce*, which he denominated a Trick, adopted for the Purpose of protracting the Existence of Ministry, who hoped thereby to gain the Respite of a few Days.

The new Secretary of State took no active Part in the Discussion of that interesting Evening, nor once opened his Lips. He seemed indeed not to have recovered the Effect produced by Burke's insulting Irony, only a few Days earlier, and contented himself with giving a silent Support. Not so Dundas. The characteristic Energy of his Mind always propelled him forward; and having answered General Conway's Imputation of speaking with a *double Tongue*, which Act of Inconsistence he disclaimed, either in, or out of Parliament, he warmly supported the Attorney General's Proposal. But, it was likewise sustained from another Quarter. Sir William Dolben, who had

voted with Opposition on the 22d, rose for the Purpose of declaring that he considered the proposed Measure of a *Truce*, as the most proper to be adopted, and refused to proceed another Step against the existing Administration. As his Example might operate with great Effect among the Country Gentlemen, who formed so large, as well as so respectable and independent a Portion of the Assembly, Sir William was instantly assailed from a Variety of Quarters. Mr. Thomas Townsend besought him to examine his Conscience, before he gave so inconsistent a Vote; while Powis lamented the Defection of an Individual, whose private Character justly excited universal Respect. “As a
“Friend,” said he, “I regret, but, as a
“Member of this House, I reprobate his
“Line of Conduct. Nor do I comprehend
“how, after such contradictory Behaviour,
“he can look his Constituents or his Coun-
“try, in the Face.” Sir Fletcher Norton endeavoured to demonstrate, that the former Motion of Conway, and the present, were in Fact the same: adding, that there had not happened any Change of public Affairs, which could warrant or justify an Alteration of Sentiment in the Honorable Baronet.

Sir William nevertheless remaining inflexible, and having risen a second Time, in Order to explain more accurately the Principles which determined his Resolution; Sheridan opened on him a Battery of Wit, calculated to expose him to universal Ridicule. It is however probable that had Lord North survived the Session, and continued at the Head of Affairs, so important a Service, rendered at a Crisis of such general Depression and Dismay, would not have remained unrewarded. A Peerage might with Reason have been conferred on a Man, whose Support was above all Estimation under the existing Circumstances. The Detestation nevertheless, universally excited by the American War, had reached such a Point, as to overbear every Attempt to prolong its Duration. Previous to the Debate, the Sheriffs of the City of London had presented at the Bar, a Pétition from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, imploring the House to interpose in such Manner as they should conceive to be most effectual, for terminating further Hostilities against the Colonies. Many of the most ancient Adherents of the Minister, began to waver. Sir Gilbert Elliott, who had hitherto uni-

formly supported Administration, made his Retraction, and joined the Opposition. Soon after one o'Clock in the Morning, the Cry of Question became general. Two Hundred and thirty-four Persons voted with Conway. Only two Hundred and fifteen adhered to the Minister. No sooner was the Result known, and the Triumph over Lord North ascertained from the Chair, than the Acclamations,—for, such they might be justly denominated ;—pierced the Roof, and might have been heard in Westminster Hall. Two of the *Tellers* on that eventful Night, still survive : I mean, the Earl of Lauderdale, and Mr. Baron Adam. The other two, Robinson, and George Byng, are long since dead. Information of the Event was instantly transmitted, notwithstanding the advanced Hour, to His Majesty, at the Queen's House. Conway following up the Blow, carried without any Division, before the Assembly adjourned, an Address to the Throne, soliciting the Sovereign to “ stop
“ the Prosecution of any further Hostilities
“ against the revolted Colonies, for the Purpose of reducing them to Obedience by
“ Force.” It was ordered to be presented by the whole House.

[1st—4th March.] Under these critical and portentous Circumstances, which seemed to announce still greater Changes or Convulsions as imminent, opened the Month of March. The King nevertheless retained all his Firmness; and though the Reply that he made to the Commons when they arrived at St. James's, was couched in gracious Language, yet the Terms of it might be esteemed vague and general; only stating that "he would adopt such Measures as he "should think most conducive *to restore* "*Harmony* between Great Britain and her "Colonies," without specifically promising not to carry on any further *Operations of War* for their Reduction by Force. A Fact which made a still deeper Impression upon the public Mind, and which the Opposition considered as eloquently developing the royal Feelings towards his American Subjects, was the Appearance of General Arnold at Court, when the King received the Address. So obnoxious an Individual, known to breathe an inveterate Aversion towards his insurgent Countrymen; standing close to His Majesty's Chair on such an Occasion, and at his right Hand, inspired Alarm, while it produced Animadversion.

Lord Surrey, than whom no Man of whatever Rank, inherited more of the rough Spirit of the Barons who forced John to sign the “Magna Charta;” and who was never deterred by any Delicacy or Respect for the Prejudices of a crowned Head, from uttering his Opinions, however unpalatable they might prove;—this Nobleman, who began already to perform a prominent Part under Fox, in the Parliamentary Drama; rising in his Place, a few Days afterwards, reprobated in the warmest Manner, “the wanton “and indecent Insult,” as he denominated it, offered by Ministers in the Drawing Room, to the Representatives of the People: No Notice having however been taken of his Complaint, from any Part of the House, it did not produce any further Debate or Proceeding.

[4th March.] General Conway, now completely Master of the Deliberations of the lower House, on the Subject of America; and not conceiving the Renunciation of all future Hostilities against the Colonies, to have been expressed from the Throne, in Words sufficiently affirmative; presented himself once more to public Notice. While

he proposed and carried another Address to the Sovereign, thanking him for his gracious Reply; with some Inconsistency he moved immediately afterwards to declare “ Enemies to His Majesty and to their Country, “ all those who should advise or attempt to “ prosecute offensive War on the Continent “ of North America.” The first Lord of the Treasury, after exposing the Contradiction of the Mover’s Conduct, in thus affecting to offer their Acknowledgments to the King for his Answer, and in the same Breath manifesting their Doubts of his Sincerity; observed, that whatever might be his private Opinions, he conceived it his indispensable Duty to obey the Orders of a Majority of that Assembly. “ But,” added he, “ Parliament having expressed its Commands, “ it is scarcely possible that any Minister “ can be found, sufficiently bold, daring, and “ infamous, to advise his Sovereign to act in “ Opposition to their Wishes. I cannot “ therefore conceive that the present Motion, “ which assumes and pre-supposes the Existence of such a Minister, can ever be necessary.” Nor did this Objection constitute the sole Ground on which Lord North combated the Proposition, as he asserted that very considerable Obscurity pervaded

the Orders themselves; which Circumstance might incapacitate even the best intentioned Cabinet from knowing with Certainty, whether they were adhering to, or deviating from, the Pleasure of the House.

After a Discussion of considerable Length, in which Thomas and William Pitt, both, took Part, as well as many other Members; but, without materially elucidating or explaining the Points under Investigation, Fox rose, and began by expressing his total Dissatisfaction with the Answer of the Crown. He observed, that he was not present in the House, when they voted an Address of Thanks to the King, as he understood, unanimously; though, had he been there, he should certainly have coincided in that Testimony of personal Respect to the Sovereign. The Ministers alone ought to be deemed criminal, for advising their royal Master to follow a Plan of Conduct opposed to the Advice of his faithful Commons. Then directing his Discourse personally to Lord North, in Answer to the Professions of Deference which he had made for the Orders of a Majority of that Assembly; Fox, with more Asperity than was natural to him, inveighed against these illusory Protestations, only

adopted or forgotten, just as the Exigencies of his Situation dictated. “The Position
“of the noble Lord,” exclaimed he, “is
“truly embarrassing. The Majority of this
“House has been, and is against him. Yet
“still he retains his Place. He stands in a
“Predicament unprecedented since the Re-
“volution. He remains in Office, when the
“Commons have condemned his System.
“Under Circumstances so unconstitutional
“and humiliating, he must necessarily ad-
“dress his Sovereign when he enters the
“royal Presence, in Language to the fol-
“lowing Effect, ‘I come, Sire, to advise
“you to adopt a Measure totally opposite
“to my own Opinion; but, it is the Opinion
“of a Majority of the House of Commons.’
“Is then this Country so reduced by Cala-
“mities, so poor in Spirit, or so indifferent
“to all Events, as to permit a Minister to
“conduct Affairs, in a Moment big with
“Danger like the present, who dares not
“carry into Execution his own Plans?—No
“Man respects more than I do, the free, in-
“corrupt Voice of the Majority of this
“House: but, when I contemplate the Ma-
“jority composed of Contractors, procured
“by Means the most corrupt, who have

“ been declared ineligible to sit here, I do
“ not respect such a Majority.”

“ I thank God,” continued Fox, “ that
“ the House of Commons has come to the
“ Resolutions which terminate the Ameri-
“ can War! Those Resolutions have utterly
“ destroyed and annihilated the Principle,
“ they have subverted the Basis, of the pre-
“ sent System, *Corruption*. It is not credi-
“ ble that any Minister, however daring or
“ profligate he may be, can presume to re-
“ tain his Employment after the Intelligence
“ which has just reached us, of the Capture
“ of Minorca, where fifteen Hundred Troops
“ have surrendered Prisoners of War. The
“ Loss of that valuable Possession, in the
“ Year 1756, drove from their Seats an Ad-
“ ministration, far more able and powerful
“ than the present Cabinet. This Day, a
“ Report is current that St. Kitt’s has been
“ taken by the Enemy ; the most important
“ Island, with the single Exception of Ja-
“ maica, which we still continue to retain in
“ the West Indies.—The only Victory to
“ which the People of this fallen Country
“ look with Hope, or which they hear with
“ Exultation, is the Triumph recently gain-

“ ed within these Walls, over His Majesty’s
“ Ministers, who are universally regarded as
“ the Enemies of their Country. This Tri-
“ umph coming now, has overcome *Corrup-*
“ *tion*. Its Reign is terminated. If the Con-
“ quest had sooner taken Place, perhaps
“ some paltry, insignificant *Coalitions* might
“ have been contrived, which would have
“ rendered less unpalatable the System it-
“ self. But, now, however Ministers may
“ hold out for a Day, a Week, a Month, or
“ even for a Year, the Foundation is sub-
“ verted. It must collapse; and then effec-
“ tual Measures may be devised to prevent
“ its future Revival.”

Such was nearly the Substance of this memorable Speech, unquestionably one of the most able, as well as persuasive, ever pronounced by Fox, and which produced a proportionate Effect on the Audience. Many Parts of it were indeed unanswerable; and the new Secretary of State scarcely could reply to the concluding Enquiries of Fox relative to the Fate of St. Kitt’s, which he however did in a few hesitating, spiritless Sentences. Lord North remained silent, nor did the Lord Advocate advance to his

Assistance; and under so depressed a State of Things, the Speaker had already prepared to put the Question, when Rigby rose. Never could he have appeared more opportunely on the Scene, or at a Moment when his Exertions were more necessary to re-invigorate the ministerial Ranks. His very Figure and Aspect, unblushing, fearless, confident, as if formed to stem the Torrent of Opposition even when most violent, powerfully aided the Effect of his Oratory. He commenced by observing, that though it was not his Intention to divide the House, yet he should unquestionably give his Negative to the Motion, in order that it might not pass unanimously. And he remarked on the Singularity, as well as Inconsistency, of disapproving His Majesty's Answer, and yet returning him Thanks for it. This Conduct sufficiently proved that the Charge so often made against Ministers, of being divided among themselves, might with more Justice be applied to Opposition. "As to the Motion," subjoined he, "declaring Enemies to their Country, all such as should advise the King to continue War against the Colonies, I consider it nugatory: because I cannot suppose that any Member of Ad-

“ ministration, will dare to disobey the po-
“ sitive Injunctions of this House. But,
“ probably it has been devised and adopted,
“ merely to calm tender Consciences, there-
“ by to conceal Dissensions. Thus, the
“ Vote of Thanks, and the present Motion,
“ are intended to balance each other. I ima-
“ gine, one Set of Men may have consented
“ to support the first; under the Condition,
“ that another Description will agree to vote
“ the second.”

“ Much has been said,” continued Rigby,
“ about *Majorities* which have voted against
“ the noble Lord in the blue Ribband.
“ And how has he got the better of those
“ Resolutions? Why, by other Majorities,
“ It has always been the Cry, that the *Ins*
“ were corrupt, and the *Outs* were fac-
“ tious. But, it forms no political Pheno-
“ menon, that a Minister should retain his
“ Place after he has been left in a Minority.
“ All Sides of this House have been occa-
“ sionally wrong. Lord Rockingham’s Ad-
“ ministration, which repealed the Stamp
“ Act, yet declared the *Right* of Parlia-
“ ment to make Laws for America. Even
“ the Honorable Member who now repre-

“sents Westminster, voted for the *Boston Port Bill*. If so little Faith is to be reposed in the Assurances of His Majesty’s Ministers, better move at once to remove them from their Employments!” The blunt, not to say contemptuous, Levity, accompanied with some personal Observations of a disagreeable Kind, which characterized Rigby’s Speech from its Commencement to its Close, gave a new Color to the Debate, while it excited no ordinary Commotion among the Opposition Ranks. Fox, whose early Parliamentary Transgressions, when formerly seated near Lord North on the Treasury Bench, frequently appeared to him, like Brutus’s evil Genius; started up to explain his unfortunate Vote on the Boston Port Bill. His Excuse seemed, I believe, even to his Friends, not the most satisfactory; as he could assign no better Reason for it, than that Lord North had pledged himself, if the Tea which the Americans threw overboard, was paid for by them, he would drop all further Idea of Taxation.

Rigby having, in the Progress of his Speech, said rather unadvisedly, that “he was tired of the American War, though as

“ Paymaster of the Forces, he was by no
“ Means tired of receiving Cash ;” which singular Expression he however qualified by
“ adding, that he could nevertheless speak
“ his Opinion honestly, uninfluenced by his Place ;” Mr. Pitt remarked with great Severity on the Words. He observed, that “ if
“ the Right Honorable Gentleman was not
“ tired of receiving, the Nation was weary
“ of paying, Cash to a Person, who profited
“ more by the War than any four Members
“ of that Assembly.” Almost any other Individual than Rigby, would have been disconcerted by so invidious a Comment, coming too from such a Quarter. But, he, far from shrinking back, or exhibiting the slightest Mark of Discomposure, stood up ; and directing his Looks, as well as his Reply, to Pitt and Fox, who sate very near each other on the Opposition Side of the House, almost under the Gallery, “ I will just venture to
“ remark,” said he, “ that however lucrative
“ my Office may be, it has been held by *the*
“ *Fathers of the two Honorable Members who*
“ *spoke last* ; and I make little Doubt that
“ whenever I may be compelled to quit it,
“ *those Gentlemen themselves may have an*
“ *Eye to getting Hold of it.* I repeat, I am

“not at all tired of receiving Money; but I
“am not to be told, because I receive the
“Emoluments of my Place, that I am there-
“fore the Author of my Country’s Ruin.”
Neither Fox nor Pitt attempted any Retort.
The former, indeed, on all Occasions treated
Rigby with marked Regard; and more than
once had spoken in his Place, of that Gentle-
man’s Ability, Independence of Mind, and
political Principles, in Terms approaching
to Panegyric. But, Barré, after complaining
that he had retained in his Hands as Pay-
master, an enormous Balance of public Mo-
ney amounting to near 900,000*l.*; adverted
with much Acrimony to the Aspersions
thrown out against the Opposition, as being
only a Rope of Sand. Conscious how much
they were divided in Sentiment upon almost
every Point, he endeavoured to derive an In-
ference from that very Dissimilarity of Opi-
nion, favorable to their Principles. “A
“Desire to prevent the Ruin of their Coun-
“try, which the present Ministers,” he said,
“had nearly effected, formed the Tye that
“bound them indissolubly together.” The
Debate now drew to a Close, General Con-
way’s Motion passing without any Division.
Rigby had acted the most conspicuous Part

in the Discussion, had gallantly exposed himself, and had covered the Minister's Retreat, though the Enemy kept Possession of the Field. These were Services, at such a Crisis, of no ordinary Description, and could scarcely have been performed by any other Member of the House. Indeed, had Lord North been animated by the same tenacious, firm, and buoyant Spirit, which the Paymaster of the Forces displayed, he would probably have surmounted the Storm. Already Sir George Rodney had reached the West Indies, and was preparing to attack the Fleet of France. But, his Administration was destined to a speedy Extinction.

[5th March.] If the Debate of which I have endeavoured faithfully, though imperfectly, to trace the Outlines, unveiled so much of the concealed Machinery, and private Feelings, of both Parties, during the Convulsions that preceded Lord North's political Exit; the Discussion, or rather, the Conversation of the following Evening, disclosed Matter not less interesting. The Attorney General having moved for Leave to bring in a Bill "to enable His Majesty to "conclude a *Truce* or *Peace* with the re-

“volted American Colonies;” Fox, aware that unless he could blunt this Weapon, the Minister might cut his Way by means of it, through the Opposition Squadrons which now nearly hemmed him in, rose instantly to force it out of the Hands of Government. “The only Treatment properly applicable “to such a Proposition, coming from such a “Quarter,” he said, “would be to burst into “Laughter, and instantly to quit the House. “Ministers, after leaving us scarcely any “Possession except Jamaica and Gibraltar; “after refusing to suffer American Agents “to meet our Plenipotentiaries, under the “offered Mediation of foreign Powers; now “pretended to desire Peace. Let the learned Gentleman only look to his right and “to his left, he would there discover in the “Persons of the Ministers, his Friends, the “greatest Impediments to a Pacification. “But, before he sate down, he had a Proposal to make to Administration.” “I can “inform them,” added he, “as a Matter of “Certainty, that there are Persons now in “Europe, fully authorized to negotiate Peace “between us and the Colonies. *And though “I believe, those Individuals will not treat “with the present Ministers, yet I can put*

*“ them in the Way to make Peace. Nay
“ more, should they dislike personally coming
“ forward, I would undertake, myself, to
“ negotiate it for them.”* Observing a Smile
on more than one Countenance opposite
to him, he added, that in making such a
Proposal, he was not more inconsistent than
the noble Lord acted, who condemning the
Resolutions moved by General Conway, yet
advised his Sovereign to execute them.
“ Our Affairs,” continued Fox, “ are so des-
“ perate, that Ministers must either quit
“ their Places, or the Country is lost! Let
“ *Them* enjoy then the Emoluments which
“ they hold so precious, provided *I* can only
“ save the Empire. *If Peace can be pro-
“ cured, I am ready to serve them in any
“ Capacity, even that of a Commis, or of a
“ Messenger.*” Conscious that this patriotic
Ebullition might subject him to some Com-
ments, and perhaps apprehensive that it bore
the Appearance of personal Approximation
to a Government, the Members of which he
had during many successive Years held up
to national Condemnation or Contempt; he
subjoined, “ I request it may be clearly un-
“ derstood, that in making the Proposition,
“ I mean not to enter into any Connexion

“ with Ministers. *From the Instant when I*
“ *so act, or come to Terms with one of them,*
“ *I will rest satisfied to be deemed infamous.*
“ *I cannot for a Moment contemplate a Coa-*
“ *lition with Men, who, as Ministers, in every*
“ *Transaction, public or private, have proved*
“ *themselves devoid of Honor or Honesty.*
“ *In the Hands of such Men, I would not*
“ *entrust my own Honor for a single Minute.*”

This extraordinary Declaration, one of the most imprudent and ill advised which Fox ever made in the Course of his long Parliamentary Life; was probably intended by him to impress a Belief on his Hearers and the Public, of the Facility with which *He and his Party* could obtain an honorable Peace. Nor, if considered under that Point of View, did it fail, like other political Delusions, practised in all Ages; to produce a temporary Effect. Wearied with the War, People of every Description, readily supposed that he could succeed in disposing the Americans to Conciliation. And they assumed with the same Credulity, that Administration would either find or fabricate Impediments to a Consummation so generally and anxiously desired. Unquestion-

ably therefore, the Expressions used by Fox, operated favorably to the Views and Objects of Opposition. I will fairly own that I was, myself, in some Degree duped by them, in common with others; and expected from Mr. Fox's Entrance into Office, the Return of Peace, as if by a Charm. The Event greatly deceived Expectation. In whatever Way however Fox's Speech affected Parliament and the Nation, it drew from the Minister a Reply full of Dignity, Independence of Mind, and becoming Resentment. Nor did he fail to mix in the Dose, some Portion of that Wit, without a few Grains of which Ingredient, Lord North rarely addressed the House. He began by denying in the most forcible Terms, the Disinclination to Peace, charged against himself and his Colleagues in the Cabinet. Then advert-
ing to the *kind Offer* which Fox had just made of his Services, coupled at the same Time with his severe Language relative to Administration; Lord North observed, "These are good and substantial Reasons for not trusting his Honor in my Hands. Better Reasons cannot be assigned; and as they are such, they shall serve me against the Honorable Member. I will

“ never employ a Person, who publicly de-
“ clares that he can repose no Confidence in
“ me. Thinking of him as I do, I am de-
“ termined not to make him my Negotiator.
“ He seems in a great Hurry to get Posses-
“ sion of our Places. I am however yet to
“ learn, that among those who are so im-
“ patient to succeed, there exists any settled
“ Agreement or System of Action. It will
“ therefore be for the public Good that I
“ should remain in Office, in Order to pre-
“ vent, as I have hitherto done, Confusion
“ in the State, and the Introduction of un-
“ constitutional Principles. *I am for that*
“ *Reason resolved not to quit my Post, until*
“ *I shall receive my royal Master's Com-*
“ *mands to leave it; or 'till the Will of this*
“ *House, expressed in the most unequivocal*
“ *Terms, shall point out the Propriety of my*
“ *withdrawing from Employment.* As to
“ the Emoluments of my Situation—God
“ knows, were they forty Times greater than
“ they are, they could form no adequate
“ Compensation for my Anxiety and Vex-
“ ations, aggravated by the uncandid Treat-
“ ment that I frequently experience within
“ these Walls! It is not Love of Power or
“ of Greatness, that retains me in my Place.

“ I speak in the Presence of Individuals who
“ know how little I am attached to either :
“ but I will not resign, till I can do it with
“ Gratitude to my Sovereign and to the
“ Public.”

Fox attempted partly to explain away the harsh Epithets which he had applied to the Minister, and partly to hold up the Speech just pronounced, to Ridicule or Condemnation. But, its Impression was indelible. Neither Wolsey, nor Strafford, nor Clarendon, ever made a finer Appeal to their Contemporaries, nor to Posterity ! In Reply to Fox's Accusations, accompanied with a Sneer at his asserting that he continued in Place, to prevent Confusion, Lord North humorously observed, “ I undoubtedly have
“ prevented much Confusion ; and if I have
“ not prevented more, it is only because
“ there are others who possess greater Abilities in creating Confusion, than I have to
“ prevent it. But, so long as Parliament
“ shall not think proper to remove me,
“ either by a Vote, or by wholly withdrawing from me their Confidence ; the Honorable Gentleman must excuse me, if I determine to hold my Situation.” Who, after

so precise, so public, and so reiterated a Declaration, could have anticipated or expected, that within fifteen Days, though the House had *not* withdrawn from him its Confidence, Lord North would, standing in the same Place, and in the Midst of the same Assembly, lay down his Office! Fox made no further Answer, and the Attorney General's Motion passed without any Division: while the Minds of all Men were attracted towards the final Termination of a Scene so interesting to every Individual; but, the Issue of which, it was as yet impossible to foresee, from the Conduct or the Protestations of the first Minister.

[6th March.] With a View to the great Object of keeping alive public Clamour against Lord North, and above all of not allowing the Irritability of Parliament to subside; when that Nobleman, on the following Day, requested the Indulgence of the House for postponing the Taxes, on Account of the Hurry of Business, Burke and Fox, both, declaimed with Violence on the Subject. The former, after enumerating the Articles of Necessity or of Luxury, on which Taxation had already fallen within

the last few Years, and deploring the State of financial Exhausture into which we were plunged; concluded by making an ingenious and fanciful Exposition of our national Condition, viewed under a mercantile Form. “ On one Side,” said he, “ we have *Debtor* “ by Loss, One Hundred Millions of Money. “ On the other, *Creditor* by Loss, One Hundred Thousand Men; thirteen American “ Provinces; an annual Revenue of Four “ Millions, five Hundred Thousand Pounds; “ five West India Islands; besides Florida “ and Minorca.” This Picture, addressed strongly to the Imagination and the Passions, highly colored, was likewise false or exaggerated. St. Christopher’s, one of the Islands which he included in his List of Losses, founding his Assertion on false Intelligence industriously propagated, had not been captured by the Enemy. New York, as well as Charles Town, were held by our Forces, and might form Objects of Cession, or Negotiation. St. Lucia and Pondicherry,—one the Key of the West India Chain of Islands; the other, valuable as being the Capital of the French Establishments on the Coromandel Coast;—had both been subjected by our Arms, and were in our Possession.

But, these Facts or Considerations were wholly overlooked in a Moment of national and ministerial Depression. Then diverging with his characteristic Impetuosity, to Lord North's Declaration of the preceding Evening, that "he would not resign till "he could do it with Gratitude to the Sovereign and to the Public;" Burke exclaimed, "The noble Lord's *Gratitude!* Oh! "Mr. Speaker, it resembles that of another "fallen Angel like himself,

"The Debt immense of endless Gratitude,
"So burthensome, still paying, still to owe."

Fox, on his Part, attacked the Minister with no less Animosity, and declared that all the Acts of his Administration were founded in systematic Delusion, sheltered by Obscurity, and stamped with Ignorance. He added that "as the parting Proof of the "noble Lord's *Gratitude*, when Jamaica and "Barbadoes, our only remaining Settlements "of Value, were lost, it might be presumed "he would think of retiring from Office." No Reply was made from the Treasury Bench, to such declamatory Charges, calculated for sustaining and inflaming the general Fermentation.

[8th March.] Unable nevertheless to effect Lord North's Removal, or to provoke his voluntary Resignation, by any Censures passed on the Conduct of the American War, or by any Interdictions of its future Prosecution; the Opposition became of necessity compelled to bring forward a personal Question, inculpatory Administration. And it must be allowed, that in conducting this Measure, they proceeded with judicious, as well as with cautious Steps. A retrograde Movement, or an unsuccessful Attempt, they were well aware, would at once undo all that had hitherto been effected. Lord North, who was individually beloved, in, and out of the House, even by those who most disapproved or opposed many of his Measures; was likewise steadily supported by the Sovereign: while in the House of Lords, no Prospect of any Defection or Change had hitherto manifested itself. The Session moreover advanced rapidly; and if Easter arrived, Experience had proved that a full Attendance could not be obtained after that Period of the Year, except with the utmost Difficulty. All these Facts having been maturely considered in the Meetings which took Place among the Opposition

Leaders, they determined to try the Temper of the House of Commons, without Delay. Lord John Cavendish, seconded by Powis, introduced various Resolutions, finally imputing the Misfortunes of the War, to the “Want of Foresight and Ability” in Ministers. After a very long Debate, in a crowded House, the Administration not venturing directly to negative the Proposition, yet found themselves unable to carry the Motion, though only for the *Order of the Day*, by a greater Majority than *Ten*.

Of Lord John's Speech, no Trace remains on my Mind; but Powis's Address to the House, was calculated to produce the deepest Impression. He was indeed a Man of great Parliamentary Talents, and of distinguished Integrity, though by no means unaccompanied with deep Ambition. For, from 1782, till 1797, during fifteen Years, he seems, under successive Administrations, never for an Instant to have lost Sight of the Peerage to which he ultimately attained. After disclaiming all personal ill Will against Ministers, he adverted to Lord North's recent Declaration, that whenever Parliament should withdraw from him its Confi-

dence, he would then retire. “That Period,” said Powis, “is arrived! Parliament has withdrawn its Confidence from the noble Lord. The Fetters which this House has imposed on him, constitute the strongest Proof of the Fact. He has likewise asserted, that he only continued in Office, with a View to prevent Confusion. But, who are the *Men* likely to succeed him, and what are the *Principles* to which they stand pledged? Their first Pledge is, to check Profusion and Prodigality in the Expensiture of public Money. Their second Engagement is, to explore the dark Recesses of the Civil List, and to introduce Retrenchment into that *Sanctum Sanctorum* of Government. Lastly, they have solemnly promised to adopt some Plan for improving the national Representation within these Walls: not, indeed, visionary Plans: but, such as may tend to diminish, if not to eradicate the Causes of Parliamentary Venality. Such are the *Men*, from whom the Chancellor of the Exchequer pretends to apprehend Confusion! Men, among whom are to be found the Descendants of the most illustrious Families, possessed of the largest Property, distinguished by the most splen-

“ did Talents. Among them is the admired
“ Son of a Statesman, who carried the British
“ Name and Arms to the Summit of
“ Glory; and who only quitted his Situation,
“ when he discovered, that a *baneful*,
“ but, *secret Influence*, prevented him, either
“ with *Honor to himself*, or with *Advantage*
“ to the State, from carrying into
“ Execution those Counsels, which he was
“ no longer permitted to direct. Yet from
“ such Men does the noble Lord anticipate
“ Confusion!”

After touching with the Hand of a Master, these great political Keys, while the House listened in Silence; Powis drew in the same able Manner, the Contrast presented by *Ministers*, when compared with the principal Individuals constituting *Opposition*. Commencing his Delineation with the new Secretary of State, who sat opposite to him, “ that Right Honorable Gentleman,” observed he, “ gives us no Encouragement to
“ hope that such Measures will emanate
“ from his Department, as can be beneficial
“ to the Country. He has presented us a
“ Sketch of his *Creed*: but I cannot denominate it a sincere Profession of *Faith*.

“ At best, I regard it only as an Act of
“ *occasional Conformity*. He has retracted
“ no Error. He has abjured no former
“ Principle, though he may have yielded
“ somewhat to the Feelings of the Times.
“ Once we remember him loud in declaim-
“ ing on this Side of the House; but he is
“ now sunk into ministerial Dependency.
“ All the Starch and the Buckram of his
“ Composition is dissolved, and he seems
“ reduced to a State of complete Pliability.
“ The noble Lord in the blue Ribband,
“ is formed of the same ductile Materials.
“ Destitute of any System of Action, *im-*
“ *pelled by a secret, concealed Influence,*
“ he submits to adopt the Principles of
“ others. He now stands in a Predicament
“ altogether without Example, having lost
“ the Confidence of Parliament. What
“ stronger Proof of it than those already
“ exhibited, does he demand?” Proceeding
to delineate in the same caustic and contu-
melious, or invidious Colours, the remaining
Members of the Cabinet, he concluded by a
forcible Appeal to the Gentlemen of landed
Property, Representatives of Counties or of
Cities. “ Would they,” he asked, “ con-
“ tinue to support an Administration, which

“ had ruined their Country ; while Order,
“ Regularity, and Success, might justly be
“ expected to arise from the Exertions of
“ the Men who must succeed them in
“ Power?” The Secretary at War now
rose ;—for the Occasion fully called on him
to come forward in so desperate a ministerial
Emergency. Within the Compass of a
few Periods, he compressed almost every
Fact or Argument which could be adduced,
in Justification of his Colleagues. Never,
indeed did Jenkinson abuse the Patience of
his Audience, or lose Sight of the principal
Object for which he presented himself to
Notice, by Flights of Fancy, or Digressions
of Imagination. He admitted that the War
had been unsuccessful, but he denied that
its Principle was unjust. “ Great Power,”
he observed, “ necessarily produces Envy.
“ Our splendid Successes during the last
“ Contest with the two Branches of the
“ House of Bourbon, had raised us so
“ high, that those Powers now eagerly
“ seized the Occasion to humble us. Hence
“ too we were without Allies. The Mo-
“ narchies of Austria and of France had,
“ each in turn, suffered the same Depres-
“ sion from similar Causes. But, were Mi-

“ nisters on that Account criminal? With-
“ out attempting therefore to negative Facts
“ which were undeniable, he would move
“ the *Order of the Day*.”

At greater Length, though with no less Ability, Ellis addressed the House. In Reply to Powis's Charge of subservient Pliability, the Secretary of State remarked that there existed no strong Temptations to induce him to covet his new Office. “ When I accepted the Seal,” said he, “ I was possessed of a lucrative Employment, to which no Responsibility attached. I was undoubtedly in a warm, comfortable Bed, out of which I have been summoned to take an active Part in the Ship of State, assailed by Storm and Tempest. I find myself now in a Place of Responsibility, by no means unaccompanied with Danger. When these Circumstances are duly weighed, Gentlemen will find little Cause to accuse me of such excessive Pliability.” The Occasion was too favorable for Burke to lose. Starting up as soon as the Secretary had finished, he attacked the new Minister with those Shafts of classic Wit, Satire, and Ridicule, which he knew so

well how to launce against his Opponents. Shakespear, as well as Milton, was ever ready at his Call. “It was true,” he allowed, “that the Treasurer of the Navy
“ had quitted a warm Bed, with his Eyes
“ hardly open ; and ventured into a Vessel,
“ leaky, foundering, and tossed by tempestuous Winds.”——“He has been most unwise so to do ; and to him I may apply the Words of Brutus, when he asks his Wife,

“ Wherefore rise you now ?

It is not for your Health, thus to commit

Your weak Condition to the raw cold Morning.”

“ The Right Honorable Secretary declares
“ that he has left a warm Bed for a Post of
“ Danger. In my firm Belief, it has been
“ left merely with the Intention of introducing a *Scotch warming Pan*.” The Allusion to Dundas, which was too palpable to be mistaken, excited no little Laughter ; and received in the Course of the Evening, a most appropriate Reply. Burke proceeding in his Career of Sarcasm, answered Ellis under the triple Character of a Lawyer, a Physician, and a Divine ; in each of which Capacities, he asserted that the

Secretary had spoken. Nor, when tired with oppressing him under Tropes and Metaphors, did Burke fail to adduce more solid Arguments in Support of the Motion, derived from the Expences, the Disgraces, and the Calamities of so many Trans-Atlantic Campaigns. Far from being abandoned however on that Night, by the Country Gentlemen, various of them stepped forward to the Support of a first Minister, who had in Fact committed no Fault, except attempting to subject an insurgent People, placed at a remote Distance from Great Britain. Sir John Delaval, Sir Harry Hoghton, Lord Nugent, Sir Edward Deering, all professed that the Support which they extended to Administration, arose from their Conviction that the Cabinet, however unfortunate, “ wanted neither Foresight nor Ability.”

Among the most able Defenders of Ministry in 1782, might be justly accounted Mr. Adam, who then held the Post of Treasurer of the Ordnance. His Duel with Fox, when added to his Parliamentary Eloquence, and the Vigor of his Character, had already acquired him no ordinary Celebrity. From no Individual in the House did Fox indeed ex-

perience so personal, and probably so painful an Attack, in the Course of the present Debate, as from Adam. Reminding Fox of his Assertion made on a former Occasion, while addressing the House, that “the Man, “who on coming into Office, should forget “or renounce his early political Principles, “would be infamous;” Adam implored Parliament to pause before they called into Power, a Person professing Tenets repugnant to, or subversive of, the British Constitution. As the best Proof of the Justice of his Allegations, he charged the Honorable Member with having more than once declared, that “*the Sense of the People was “to be collected without Doors, from the “People themselves, and not from their “Representatives.*” Nor was this the only Sentiment calculated to produce Confusion, held and recommended by him. Two others, equally opposed to the Wisdom of our Ancestors, had been avowed from the same Authority. He had professed himself “an “Advocate for annual Parliaments, and he “had expressed his Desire to alter the “Representation of the People.” Burke, on his Part, stood pledged to reduce the Civil List. And Adam then asked, “what na-

“ tional Concord or Unanimity we could
“ reasonably expect, if Men professing such
“ Principles, should seize on the Govern-
“ ment, at a Moment when general Har-
“ mony was universally admitted to be in-
“ dispensable for our Extrication and Pre-
“ servation?”

It is probable that Fox, like other Demagogues who have made their Way up to Power, in free States, by mounting on the Shoulders of the People, and professing Opinions calculated to gain popular Favor; would gladly, when he had attained his Object, have turned his Back upon the Ladder which facilitated his Ascent. Not that I believe he cherished any Principles inimical to constitutional Freedom: but, Poverty and Ambition combining in the same Individual, naturally produce Asperity of Language; and he had remained more than seven Years excluded from Office. Even now, though apparently near his Prey, it might still elude his Grasp. We must likewise recollect, that if ever there was a Time in the modern History of this Country, when Reform seemed to be universally demanded, it was towards the Close of the American

War; when our Humiliation, our Losses, and our critical Position, surrounded by Enemies, inflamed the Minds of Men against a Government, which had produced so much Calamity. Pressed therefore by Adam, Fox rose; and as Welbore Ellis had done on a former Night, made his reluctant political Profession of Faith. He did it in that manly, open Manner, characteristic of his Mind, which disdained Reserve, and might rather be accused of Inconsistence or Imprudence, than of Duplicity or Disguise; Artifices foreign to his Nature. “Two leading Principles,” he said, “in which he differed from Ministers, were the Prosecution of the American War, and the Influence of the Crown. The general Principle of reducing that Influence, he strenuously approved. The Corruption of the House of Commons had become intolerable; and to all the Resolutions for excluding Contractors, Members of the Board of Trade, and of the Green Cloth, he gave his cordial Assent. If Placemen and Contractors were subducted from the late Division respecting the American War, when Ministers had remained in a Minority of Nineteen; the Majority against Admini-

“ stration would exceed a *Hundred* on
“ that Question. To *all* the Details,” continued Fox, “ prepared for the Reduction
“ of Influence, I do not subscribe: but I
“ maintain that this Assembly ought to be
“ made *the Representative of the Nation*.
“ I likewise think that the Duration of Par-
“ liament ought to be *shortened*, but I ad-
“ mit that it is a Point on which honest Men
“ may differ. I am however of Opinion that
“ *annual, or triennial* Parliaments would be
“ calculated to preserve the Privileges of
“ the People from the Encroachments of the
“ royal Prerogative, and therefore would
“ form an Amelioration of the Constitution.”

Having thus answered Mr. Adam's Queries, though without noticing specifically the Idea of introducing an Alteration into the Representation of the People; he diverged to another Point of a very interesting, because, of a personal Nature. “ It has been asserted,” said he, “ that an *Administration of Pro-*
“ *scription* is to be formed. I deny posi-
“ tively the Fact. *I have only declared that*
“ *I can form no Connexion with the present*
“ *Cabinet; and that if I do, I shall be in-*
“ *famous*. But, it is the Desire of those

“ with whom I have the Honor to act, to
“ collect all the Ability, Talents, and Con-
“ sideration of the Country, and to employ
“ this Body of national Strength, for the De-
“ liverance of the Empire. I hope we may
“ soon behold an Administration settled on
“ a broad Basis, in which Confidence may
“ be justly reposed: it is however only by
“ driving the present weak and wicked Ad-
“ visers of the Crown, from about His Ma-
“ jesty’s Person, that Great Britain can ever
“ hope to recover from her actual Disgraces
“ and Misfortunes.” Such were nearly Fox’s
Expressions on that memorable Evening.
The Lord Advocate of Scotland, who al-
ways knew when to interpose with the great-
est Effect in Debate, and who waited to
answer the Opposition Leader; instantly
rising, began nevertheless by directing his
Discourse in the first Instance, not to Fox,
but, to Burke. “ The Honorable Member,”
observed Dundas, “ whose classic Redun-
“ dancy of Wit always charms this Audi-
“ ence, has been pleased, when addressing
“ the Secretary of State near me, to mention
“ his quitting a snug, warm Bed, in Order
“ to make Room for a *Scotch warming Pan*.
“ Now I see no Reason, when I look at the

“ Gentlemen opposite me, if their eager Expectations of coming into Power are fulfilled, why it should not be *an Irish warming Pan* which is to be introduced into that “ Bed.” A Retort so apposite, turned the Laugh against Burke. In Fact, scarcely three Weeks elapsed, before Barré was made Treasurer of the Navy. Having professed his Inability to comprehend how a broad bottomed Administration, such as Fox pretended to desire, could ever be formed, which must proscribe half the Ability of the Empire, the Lord Advocate called on him to explain more intelligibly his Meaning. Then pushing the Enquiries, which Adam had commenced, to a greater Length, he demanded, “ if Fox should come into Office, and “ should find himself left in a Minority on “ any of his popular, or patriotic Questions; “ whether it was his Intention in such Case, “ to avail himself of the Right which he had “ frequently maintained? Did he mean to “ appeal from that House, to the People? “ Would he resort to his other Parliament “ convened in Westminster Hall, or in Palace “ Yard, and complain of the Parliament “ sitting within those Walls? Would he tell “ the People, that they were betrayed; and

“ induce them, like certain Associations
“ which of late Years had been formed, to
“ adopt Resolutions, calculated to operate
“ as a Controul upon the House of Com-
“ mons?” To these Questions he demanded
a Reply.

Under so embarrassing a Load of En-
quiries on Subjects so delicate, Fox deliver-
ed his Opinion with great Ability ; neither
abandoning his former Professions, nor yet
maintaining them in all their Force. Rela-
tive to the Administration which might be
formed, he declared that “ they would pro-
“ scribe no Individuals, of whatever Prin-
“ ciples, *except the five or six confidential*
“ *Advisers of the Crown, who had produced*
“ *the actual Calamities of the Country.* They
“ did not mean to proscribe the learned Lord
“ himself, however strongly they might re-
“ probate his constitutional Principles. With
“ Regard to the People without Doors, he
“ conceived that *they possessed a Right to*
“ *declare their Opinion of Men and Things ;*
“ *in Order to do which, they might meet and*
“ *consult together, provided they did it in a*
“ *peaceable, orderly Manner.*” “ I will further
“ add,” continued he, “ that whenever this

“ House shall become lost to all Sense of
“ public Duty, so sunk in Corruption as to
“ abandon the Rights of the People, and to
“ become the passive Instruments of the
“ Crown; *then it may be justifiable to revert*
“ *to the original Principles of the Constitu-*
“ *tion, and to resume the Direction of their*
“ *own Affairs, so that the popular Weight*
“ *may be preserved in the Scale of Govern-*
“ *ment.* The present Administration is the
“ first since the Revolution, which has dared
“ to deny this Right.” Perhaps, in Fox’s
Position, no Words more judicious, or less
exceptionable, could easily have been found.
Nevertheless, Sheridan, who manifested on
many Occasions a sounder Judgment than
his Friend, and who beheld in full View the
promised Land of Power from which the
Party had been so long excluded; apprehensive that Fox’s Expressions might appear
rather those of a *Tribune*, than becoming a
Man who now aspired to *Consular Offices*
and Dignities; presented himself to the
House. Directing his Discourse pointedly
to Dundas, he demanded of the learned
Lord, whether, because his honorable Friend
had maintained the *Right* of an Appeal,
under certain Circumstances, to the People,

he could be suspected of ever exercising it, when he should become a Minister? Did no obvious Distinction exist, between a private Member of Parliament applying to his Constituents, and a confidential Servant of the Sovereign, holding an Office at His Majesty's Pleasure, appealing to the People in that Capacity, against Parliament? "No!" added he, "were my Honorable Friend in the noble Lord's Place, and should he ever forfeit the Confidence of Parliament, *He* would neither fly to the People, nor to the Throne, for Support. *He* would not cling with the convulsive Grasp of Despair to the Helm, which he could no longer conduct. *He* would follow the Advice given by that learned Lord himself, to a late Minister. *He* would instantly retire;—not, indeed, probably, to another Assembly, but, to a Situation more honorable in the Hearts of the People."

Lord North rose when Sheridan sat down, and replied with his accustomed Ability; though, as I thought, not with all his usual Animation; but, the Feature of the Debate, which attracted universal Attention towards its Close, was the Declaration made

by Pitt. After holding up the first Minister to Condemnation under various Points of View; and observing, that a Change of Administration presented the only Chance for national Extrication; he subjoined, “ It is
“ not for me to say, nor for this House to
“ dictate, who may be the Persons chosen to
“ fill the Offices under a new Administra-
“ tion. All that I feel myself compelled to
“ declare, is, *that I cannot expect to take any*
“ *Share in it; and even if the Attainment of*
“ *such an Object were within my Reach, I*
“ *never will accept of a subordinate Situa-*
“ *tion.*” These Words, which undoubtedly had been well weighed before they were pronounced; disclosed without Disguise, not only the Elevation of his Views, and the well founded Confidence that he reposed in his own Talents; but, likewise, his perfect Independence of the two Leaders, whose Followers were now preparing to storm the Cabinet, Side by Side. He served indeed, in their Camp, as a Volunteer and an Auxiliary, though without looking up either to the Marquis of Rockingham, or to the Earl of Shelburne, for immediate Advancement. Relying with Reason, solely on his personal Abilities, aided by Patience, Judgment, and

the Nature of the Times; he doubtless anticipated at no remote Period, his Attainment of every Object of well regulated Ambition. The Division did not take Place till a very late Hour; and the Majority in Favor of Ministers was so small, that a Desertion of only *six* Individuals from the Government Side to that of Opposition, would have left the whole Cabinet at the Mercy of their Adversaries. Yet, as only four Hundred and forty-six Members voted on the Question, even including the four *Tellers*; and as consequently one Hundred and eleven were absent, many of whom might probably attend on a future Evening, sanguine Expectations were entertained by both Parties. It might indeed have been supposed that a Government which rested on so precarious a Basis, was already virtually at an End. But, Lord North gave the best Indication, as it was considered, of his own Intention to remain in Office, by proposing, only three Days afterwards, the new Taxes which he meant to impose for the Service of the Year. The contending Parties, therefore, prepared for fresh Struggles; and from every Part of the Kingdom, as well as from foreign Courts, Attendance was procured. The Duration

of the Ministry being now evidently at Issue, and probably about to be decided in a very short Time, not exceeding three Weeks; it is difficult to convey an Idea of the Anxiety which agitated the Court, the Capital, and the Country.

[15th March.] On the last Debate which preceded Lord North's Resignation, Sir John Rous moved to declare, that "the House had no farther Confidence in Ministers." The Opposition imagined that if this Motion was carried, no Administration would venture to continue in Office; or if they should be bold enough to defy the Indignation of Parliament, the same Majority would, it was presumed, next address the Crown for their Removal. There then remained only one Step more to Impeachment. But, so equally balanced were the two Sides, that though four Hundred and sixty-seven Members, including the Tellers, voted on the Division, scarcely any Ground was lost or gained. Government still remained in a Majority of *Nine*, thus losing *One* since the preceding Debate. Yet, even that single Vote being in Favor of the Opposition, in so full a House, seemed to indicate that they

were progressive in the public Esteem. In Fact, twenty-one Members more voted on this, than on the preceding Division. Among the interesting Features of the Debate, must be accounted the Appearance of Mr. George Onslow on the Scene. He was one of the two Representatives for the Town of Guilford, and a Man of much Eccentricity, as well as Irregularity of Deportment. He seldom spoke; but, his Speeches, if they did not abound in Wit, were marked by great Freedom of Language and Opinion. Without Circumlocution of any Kind, he accused the Opposition Leaders, as the principal Instruments in dissevering America from her Allegiance to Great Britain. “General Washington’s Army,” exclaimed he “has been called by Members of this House, *our Army*; and the Cause of the Rebels has been denominated, the Cause of *Freedom*. Every Support has been given the Americans, who have placed their Confidence on the Encouragement extended to them within these Walls. Franklin and Laurens are here made the Subject of daily Panegyric; and the weak Parts of our interior Government, have been exposed or pointed out to the Rebels. *It has even*

*“ been reported, and I believe it is true, that
“ Information has been transmitted from
“ hence to the Court of Versailles.”* A loud
Cry arising from the Opposition Benches,
calling on him to *name* the Individuals to
whom he alluded, Onslow declined Com-
pliance; adding, that “ he could not tell;
“ or, if he could, he would not; but, that
“ he retained his Conviction of its Truth.”
He concluded, by declaring his Belief that
the ill Success of a War, in the Principle of
which, almost the whole Nation concurred
at its Commencement, might be with Reason
ascribed to those Persons, who had not
scrupled uniformly to avow, that they should
deeply lament its being crowned with fortu-
nate Results. Lord North himself might
be said to give some Countenance to these
Assertions or Accusations of Onslow:—for,
in the Course of a long and masterly Appeal
to the House, some Parts of which he pro-
nounced with evident Emotion; he observed,
that “ far from feeling either the Contrition
“ or the Repentance for the Acts of his past
“ Administration, which, Gentlemen opposite
“ asserted would become him; he experi-
“ enced on the contrary the most perfect
“ Calm, arising from the Consciousness of

“not having done any Wrong.” “If, indeed,” continued he, “in any of my Speeches in this House, or in any which I have made out of Doors, or in any Part of my Conduct, *I had held out Hopes to the Americans, that they possessed Friends in this Country, professing to be their Advocates, and who embraced every Occasion to advance their Interests, in Preference to those of their native Country;—then I confess I should think I had acted in a Manner, that called for deep Contrition and sincere Repentance: nay, even for Humiliation, for Self-abasement, and for Shame.*” He could not more clearly designate, nor reprobate in stronger Terms, the Line of Conduct adopted by the Chiefs of Opposition, throughout the whole Progress of the American Contest.

Reverting next to the Conduct of that War, “I deny,” said he, “that its Commencement is in any Degree to be attributed to His Majesty’s present Ministers. The Stamp Act was repealed, and the Declaratory Act had passed, before I was called to the Cabinet, though I voted for them both, as a private Member of Parlia-

“ ment. I came into Office, at a Moment of
“ Crisis, *when Others had deserted the Helm,*
“ and I have exerted my best Endeavours to
“ serve my Country.” His Allusion to the
Manner in which the Duke of Grafton
abandoned the Reins of Government, was
rendered more striking by the Circumstance
of that Nobleman’s accepting the Privy
Seal under the new Administration, only a
few Days afterwards. When Lord North
came to speak of the Misrepresentations
which he was accused of using, with a View
to persuade Parliament to the Prosecution
of Hostilities for so many unfortunate Cam-
paigns; and particularly, with declaring
that we had numerous Friends in America;
he spoke under visible Embarrassment. It
became requisite, in Order to exculpate
himself, that he should inculpate his late
Colleague, Lord Sackville; nor did he hesi-
tate so to do. “ *The Declaration in Ques-*
“ *tion,*” observed he, “ *came not from me,*
“ *but, from another Minister.* It fell not
“ indeed, within the Range of my Depart-
“ ment, to receive such official Information.
“ Not that I doubted it; for, I am convinced
“ that the Minister who made the Assertion,
“ spoke from good Authority. I believe,

“ we not only had, but, that we still retain,
“ numerous Friends throughout the Colo-
“ nies. *I confess at the same Time, that I*
“ *never thought those Friends sufficient in*
“ *Point of Numbers, nor in any Point of*
“ *View whatever, either to justify our com-*
“ *mencing, or our continuing the War,*
“ *solely on their Account.*” These significant Expressions undraw in a considerable Degree the Veil from before the Cabinet; and like Don Cleofas, in the “ *Diable Boi-*
“ *teux,*” we are admitted behind the Scenes. How far the first Minister acted with his accustomed Prudence or Elevation of Mind, in making such an Avowal, in such a Place, Posterity will best decide. His Position, still in Office, and intending, as he asserted, to remain at the Head of his Majesty’s Councils, unless driven out by a Vote of the House of Commons; was in itself most painful and delicate. Probably he thought, by sacrificing in some Measure a Member of the Cabinet who was now no longer in Office, and who had reached the upper House, he might conciliate his Enemies. But, in his Accusation of the late American Secretary, he virtually enveloped his Sovereign in the same Charge. Fox’s Opinion of

it, may be collected from his own Comments, when he replied to Lord North. “ Up to “ this Day,” said he, “ I always considered “ the noble Lord to have acted generously “ by his Colleagues, as he uniformly professed to share in their Guilt, whatever “ might be its Extent. But, on the present “ Evening, he throws the Responsibility and “ the Blame on another Minister, for having “ deceived us by erroneous or exaggerated “ Accounts, respecting the Number of our “ Adherents beyond the Atlantic. The “ noble Lord has, however, himself, deluded “ and deceived Parliament, in a Variety of “ Instances.”

The Conclusion of the first Minister's Speech was unusually pathetic, as well as interesting. I sate near him, and his Words were well calculated to remain engraven on the Memory. It is, indeed, probable, whatever Assurances he might give to the King, or to his Friends and Adherents, that he nevertheless considered himself as near his political Extinction. “ My Wish,” exclaimed he, “ is not only for Peace, but, for “ an Administration that may act with Un- “ animity and Effect towards the general

“ Safety ! *I will not form any Obstacle to a*
“ *Coalition, in which I shall have no Share*
“ *or Place.* There are indeed Those who
“ well know that for some Years past, I
“ have been ready and willing to make Way
“ for such an Administration : nor is it
“ owing to any personal Desire of mine, that
“ I have so long remained in my Situation.
“ *I declare to God, that no Love of Office*
“ *or of Emolument, should detain me for a*
“ *Moment in Place, if I could with Honor*
“ *leave it ; and if certain Circumstances,*
“ *which I cannot now explain, did not pre-*
“ *vent my Resignation !* A Time may come,
“ when I can better speak upon this Point.
“ I act in Obedience to a Sense of Duty,
“ and neither Advice nor Menaces can in-
“ fluence me to abandon it. Never will I
“ subscribe to the Idea, that provided Mi-
“ nisters will only quit their Places, Pu-
“ nishment shall not follow. I neither de-
“ sire to avoid Censure nor Punishment.
“ My only Demand is, that the Proofs of
“ *Neglect, or of Guilt,* may be established
“ against Ministers, before *Censure* is voted.
“ If we deserve *Censure*, it ought to be fol-
“ lowed by *Punishment.*” It is impossible
not to suppose that “ the Circumstances”

to which Lord North so pointedly alluded, but, “which he could not explain;” were the Solicitations of his Sovereign not to desert him, as had been done by his ministerial Predecessors, Lord Bute, and the Duke of Grafton. There were Passages in this Speech, which reminded me of Wolsey’s Language to Cromwell, when he says,

—————“ I feel within me
A Peace above all earthly Dignities;
A still and quiet Conscience.”——

—————“ I am able now, methinks,
(Out of a Fortitude of Soul I feel,)
To endure more Miseries, and greater far,
Than my weak-hearted Enemies dare offer.”

Indeed, so much did Lord North feel the Degree of Similitude between his own Situation and the Fall of Wolsey; that, adopting the Expression of the Cardinal, when one of his Friends waited on him a few Days afterwards, to offer his Condolences, accompanied with some Marks of Surprize, at his Resignation; he answered, with the utmost good Humor and Complacency, in Shakspeare’s Words,

“ What, amazed
At my Misfortunes?—Can thy Spirit wonder
A great Man should decline ?”

So much did his constitutional Suavity and Amenity of Character, enable him to surmount every Vicissitude of Fortune! And so naturally did his improved and classic Mind suggest to him, the historic Images analogous to his Situation!

Fox, in his Reply on that Night,—for he would allow no Person to answer the Minister, except himself;—made some Observations tinged with more Severity, than his placable Nature usually dictated to him. Only four Days earlier, having indulged in similar Remarks upon Lord North, when he laid before the House, his proposed Taxes for the Year; Fox, either conscious that he had trespassed beyond the Bounds of Liberality, or impelled by his own generous Character, made the Chancellor of the Exchequer an ample and a voluntary Apology. “I do assure the noble Lord,” said he, “that
“in all I have stated on the present Occa-
“sion, or at any former Time, I mean not to
“press upon him, to goad him, or to run
“him down. Still less is it my Intention
“to say any thing that should hurt his
“Mind, or give him Uneasiness. Upon my
“Honor, I nourish no such Design; and

“ though I neither ask Pardon of the Chair-
“ man, nor of the Committee, for any Ex-
“ pression that I may have used, yet I ask
“ Pardon of the noble Lord if I have of-
“ fended him;—for, I meant it not.” We
cannot help admiring a Man who united
such a Disposition, with Talents so pre-
eminent. Pitt, however superior he was to
Fox in Judgment, and in various other Re-
spects, wanted that noble, winning, and open
Spirit, which conciliated so many Friends,
and retained them in Defiance of Adversity,
Poverty, or Exclusion from Power. In the
Course of the present Debate, which may be
considered as the last that took Place pre-
vious to Lord North’s Surrender, various
Members of the House rose, to attack, or to
defend him. Sir William Dolben not only
voted with him, but, pronounced an affecting
Encomium on his Integrity, Honor, and
domestic Virtues; from which no Individual
had attempted to detract, and to which so
many had borne Testimony. Having ex-
pressed his anxious Wishes, that a Coalition
might yet be formed between the noble Lord
and his principal Opponents, seated on the
opposite Benches; he added, “ If neverthe-
“ less a Change should take Place, to the

“ total Exclusion of the present first Minister, either in Consequence of a Vote of this House, or from his own spontaneous Movement; I am persuaded that he will exhibit a Phenomenon to this Country; namely, a *Minister out of Office, supporting the Government that expelled him, instead of opposing, thwarting, and embarrassing their Measures.*” The Lord Advocate did not abandon his Principal, but, sustained him with Eloquence and Ability. “ A Union of Parties,” he admitted, “ seemed to be not only the general Wish, but, coincided with his own individual Opinion. It was however to be effected by the substantial Connexion of both Sides, not by putting the Government exclusively into the Hands of Opposition. The noble Lord in the blue Ribband had declared his Readiness to facilitate such a Coalition, and that he would not stand in the Way of its Accomplishment.”

Indignant at the Idea of Lord North's attempting to capitulate, to protract, or to make any Conditions before he laid down his Employments; Pitt rose to answer Dundas. His Speech, though not long, breathed

the most determined Hostility, couched in Language of no ordinary Warmth. Reprobating the Proposition itself, as an Insult to Parliament, not deserving an Instant's Attention, he said he thanked God that an End was likely to be put to the present Government ; but, he trusted, the House would not contaminate its own Purpose, by allowing Ministers to manage the Appointment of their Successors. It neither was the Province of that House, to settle the *Men* who were to succeed, nor to indicate the *Measures* proper to be pursued. "I ask Pardon," concluded he, " of this Assembly, if I have delivered myself with too much Heat ; but I cannot help feeling for my Country, under the distressful Situation of being governed by Ministers, who manifest neither Sensibility nor Shame ; and who are as devoid of Feeling, as of every other Quality of Statesmen." To these bitter and humiliating Reproaches, no Answer was attempted from the Treasury Bench, though the new American Secretary spoke for a few Minutes, to an impatient Audience loudly demanding the Question. Its Result, when notified, inspired the Opposition with new Energy, in the same Degree that it spread Dismay over

the ministerial Benches. Fox gave immediate Intimation to his Friends, of a Motion similar in its Import, for the following Wednesday; which Notice he reiterated in the House, on the subsequent Day. Among the Members who voted with Lord North on the two last Divisions, of the 8th and the 15th of March, I must not omit *Gibbon*, the celebrated Historian. He had likewise supported Administration on General Conway's second Motion for terminating the American War, when Government was left in a Minority of Nineteen. *Gibbon* then sate in Parliament as one of the Members for Lymington, and attended constantly on great Questions; but I believe he never attempted to address the House. *Addison* had not displayed any Parliamentary Talents, though he occupied the high Office of Secretary of State, for a short Time. We know that *Johnson* was anxious to obtain a Seat in the House of Commons, with a View of sustaining Lord North by his Eloquence. We may however reasonably doubt whether, notwithstanding his gigantic Abilities, he would have succeeded better on that Theatre, than his *Irené* did at Drury Lane. Oratory appears to have no Connexion

with historical, poetical, or philological Capacity.

Every Artifice of Party was used by the Opposition, to encourage their Friends, and to terrify, or hold out to popular Odium, the Adherents of Administration. Lists were published, and disseminated throughout the Kingdom, containing the Names of the Members who voted on each Question; those voting on the Side of Government, being printed in *red* Letters, while the Names of the Minority appeared in *black* Type. Unimportant or contemptible as this Circumstance may appear, it produced nevertheless a powerful Effect on weak, or timid Individuals; and bore some faint Resemblance to the Proceedings of the memorable Parliament which met in 1640, under Charles the First. Lord North appeared likewise to entertain strong Apprehensions respecting the Consequences, which might ultimately result to the King, if not to himself, from the Struggle in which Ministers were engaged. It was generally believed that he had stated these Fears to His Majesty with so much Earnestness, and had so warmly depicted the painful Situation in which the Sovereign might

be personally involved, if his Cabinet should be taken by Storm; as to have obtained the royal Permission for negotiating, and even surrendering *on Terms*. His Expressions in the last Debate, which intimated his Readiness or Disposition to withdraw from Office, and not to form any Impediment, if a Coalition could be formed for carrying on the public Service; seemed fully to justify the Belief, that he was authorized to make such Propositions. They were, however, treated with affected Ridicule or Scorn, by his Opponents, both in, and out of the House; as only calculated for Purposes of Delusion, in order to weaken or distract their Efforts. Far from listening to any Overtures of Accommodation, they anticipated a certain Triumph. Never were Moments more precious, or more critical. It being well known that the House of Commons would, according to regular Usage, adjourn on the 28th of March, for ten or eleven Days, till after the Easter Holidays, which in that Year happened to fall early; Lord North consequently might calculate almost the Number of Hours that he had to hold out against his Assailants:—for, no sanguine Expectation of successfully renewing their Attack upon Ministry, after

the Recess, could be entertained by the Opposition. Every Effort therefore, it was evident, must necessarily be wound up within a Week or two, and Government made the strongest Demonstrations of abiding the Issue.

[16th—19th March.] In all the Departments, positive Assurances were given, that no Compromise or Resignation was intended. Robinson protested the same Thing to me, at his House in St. James's-square; the same which is now occupied by Lord Castlereagh; and to which splendid Residence Robinson had only recently removed, from a small House in Parliament Street. Lord North himself, whatever Fluctuations of Mind he might internally undergo, personally reiterated those Declarations to his nearest political Connexions. On the 18th of March, Monday, he came down to the House of Commons; spoke in Reply to Sir Edward Astley, on the Subject of some Tax Bill, then on its Passage through Parliament; and displayed all his characteristic good Humor, mingled with Gaiety. No Man on either Side of the House, doubted the Firmness of the Sovereign, or suspected him of

abandoning his Ministers from personal Timidity. Each Party therefore prepared to try their Force, and both expressed themselves confident of Success. I can assert, however, from the best Authority, that if the Contest had been maintained, it would, according to every Probability, have terminated numerically in Favor of Administration. Robinson, then Secretary of the Treasury, and who knew better than any Man, the Secret of Affairs, has many Times assured me, that Government would have infallibly divided *from fourteen to twenty* Majority, on the Day when Lord North resigned ; Robinson having received the written Assurances of Attendance and Support, from many Members who were absent on the last Question. Even various of the Country Gentlemen who had hitherto voted with Opposition, hesitated, or refused, to push the Struggle to the utmost Extremity. They had put an End to the American War, which they reprobated ; and they wished for a Change of Men, as well as of Measures, and of System : but they wished it with Moderation, and were averse to using the last Expedients which the British Constitution admits, lest the Constitution, or the State itself, should suffer in the Shock.

[20th March.] On the other Hand, I know from authentic Channels of Information, that Lord North, during the last four Months of his Continuance in Office, repeatedly tendered his Resignation to the King; which His Majesty as often declined, accompanying his Refusal with the most gracious and encouraging Expressions. On Tuesday, the 19th of March, the First Minister, apprehensive of the Event of the Debate which was fixed for the ensuing Day, in the House of Commons, wrote to the King in the most decided Terms, resigning his Employment; and His Majesty being down at Windsor, Lord North dispatched a Messenger with the Letter. When it arrived, the King was going out to hunt: having perused its Contents, for which he was probably not unprepared, he calmly put it into his Pocket, made no Observation, and mounted his Horse. But, he had not proceeded more than a few Paces, when a Page came running after him, to say that Lord North's Messenger had received Orders to bring back a Reply. "Tell him," said the King, "that I shall be in Town to-morrow Morning, and will then give Lord North an Answer." Two Noblemen were with him at the Time, one of

whom was the late Duke of Dorset: the other, Lord Hinchinbrook, (afterwards Earl of Sandwich,) related to me these Particulars. Turning immediately to them,—“ Lord North,” observed His Majesty, “ has sent me in his Resignation ; but I shall not accept it.” If, however, the King was apprized of Lord North’s Intention or Determination to resign, it was by no means known in London ; and on the Morning of the very Day, I believe that few Individuals of either Party, entertained a Doubt of the Continuance of the Struggle. Still less did any Person conceive, that the First Minister would spontaneously lay down his Office, without giving Notice to his Friends, and contrary to his own recent Professions. He went soon after one o’Clock, to the Treasury, from whence he was to repair to St. James’s, where the King, as usual, had a Levee. Robinson told me, that previous to his quitting the Treasury Chambers, they held a long Conversation together ; in the Course of which, he shewed Lord North, on Paper, the Names of those Members who had promised to support him on the ensuing Question, to the Number of nine, ten, or eleven, at least ; not one of whom had been present in the

preceding Division. And he did not, himself, entertain the slightest Suspicion of the First Minister's Resignation; from whom he received the most satisfactory Assurances of his Intention, in every Case, to abide the Issue of the approaching Debate. After standing together at the Fire in the Board-room, till Lord North's Carriage drew up, they parted about ten Minutes after two o'Clock; the Minister driving strait to St. James's, while the Secretary, after dispatching a Variety of official Business, repaired soon after four o'Clock, to the House of Commons.

It is probable that the Conversation which took Place between the King and Lord North on that Occasion, was never minutely reported by either, to any third Person: but we may safely assume, that His Majesty endeavoured to prevail on his Minister not to abandon him. Robinson professed himself ignorant of all the Particulars; though he entertained no Doubt that Lord North, whether from Weariness and Disgust, or Apprehension of the Consequences that might accrue to his Sovereign, to himself, and to the

Country, had made up his Mind as he drove to St. James's, to state at once to the King, the Determination that he had irrevocably embraced, of laying down immediately his Power; a Resolution which he had notified under his Hand, on the preceding Day. It is certain that the Interview between them was long; lasting above an Hour and a half, without any Witness present; at the End of which Time the Minister withdrew, in Order to attend the House of Commons. I have rarely witnessed so full an Attendance, at so early an Hour, as on that Day; not less than four hundred Members having taken their Seats before four o'Clock; both Parties appearing impatient to proceed to Business. The only Delay arose from the Absence of the First Minister; and he being every Instant expected to arrive from St. James's, all Eyes were directed towards the Door, each Time that it opened. The Members on both Sides, who, it was generally understood, would speak in the Course of the ensuing Debate, were well known; and as the Ground of Controversy had been so often gone over, as well as on Account of many Invalids who attended, and who were

unable to remain long, it was thought that the Question would be brought on before Midnight.

At length Lord North entering in a full dressed Suit, his Ribband over his Coat, proceeded up the House, amidst an incessant cry of "Order, and Places." As soon as he had reached the Treasury Bench, he rose, and attempted to address the Chair; but Lord Surrey, who had given Notice of a Motion for that Day, being consequently in Possession of the Right to speak first, and having likewise risen, a Clamour began from all Quarters, of the most violent Description. In the Course of this Scene of Disorder, Pitt, Fox, and various other Members spoke to the Point of Order or Precedence; the Opposition loudly demanding that Lord North should not be permitted to address the House, or to propose an Adjournment, till the Earl of Surrey had been heard. The Confusion lasted for some Minutes, with more or less Violence, in Defiance of every Effort made by the Speaker to enforce Silence; 'till in Consequence of the Earnestness with which the Minister besought a Hearing, and some Expressions relative to

the Importance of the Communication that he had to make, which pervaded the Tumult; Fox having moved that “the Earl of Surrey do now speak,” Lord North availed himself of that Proposition, to obtain a Priority. An instant Silence succeeded to the late Storm; and as he prepared to begin his Discourse, it might have been truly asserted that

“his Look
Drew Audience and Attention still as Night.”

After justifying himself from the Imputation of having improperly occasioned the recent Disorder, by the public Notice given in the House, both of Lord Surrey’s intended Motion, and of its Purport; he stated that he had come down on that Day, in Order to announce from Authority, his Majesty’s Determination to change his Ministers. He should, himself, form no Obstacle to that Consummation; and he therefore conceived it unnecessary to debate a Question, which had for its Object, a Removal already produced. Having then returned his Acknowledgements to the House, for their long and steady Support extended to him, he added, “A Successor of greater Abilities, of sound-

“er Judgment, and better qualified for his
“Situation, it is easy to find. One more
“zealous for the Glory and Interests of his
“Country, or more anxious to advance
“them; animated by more Loyalty to his
“Sovereign, or *more desirous to preserve the*
“*Constitution whole and inviolate*, may not
“be so easily found. The Crown has deter-
“mined on choosing new Ministers; and I
“hope to God, whoever they may be, they
“will embrace such Measures, as may ex-
“tricate us from our present Difficulties,
“may render us happy at Home, and suc-
“cessful abroad! I know that I am respon-
“sible for my public Conduct, whenever
“my Country calls on me to answer for it.
“I do assure this Assembly that I shall not
“run away, nor will I avoid any Enquiry
“which they may think proper to institute
“respecting me.” He concluded by moving
that the House should adjourn, in Order to
allow His Majesty Time to make new mi-
nisterial Arrangements. It is not easy to
conceive the Effect which this Declaration
produced in a popular Assembly, scarcely
an Individual of which did not hear it with
lively Sentiments of Exultation or of Con-
cern, both which Emotions were heightened
by Surprise,

Fox having advised Lord Surrey not to withdraw, but, to reserve his proposed Motion, for the ensuing Monday, in Case the Minister's present Declaration should not be fully and completely verified; observed, that whoever might be the Persons called to the Councils of the Crown, he should hold them infamous if they abandoned their Principles, on obtaining Possession of Power. He added, that as the House had now proved their Abhorrence of a Government of Influence, the new Ministers must ever bear in Mind that Fact, and remember that *to the House they owed their Situations*. Rigby, who probably was more prepared for Lord North's Resignation, than most other Individuals present; after professing the highest Respect for him, as a Man and as a Minister, yet admitted that "after the Division of
" the preceding Friday, he was not only
" justified in laying down his Office, but,
" that he had, himself, advised the first Lord
" of the Treasury to retire. A Majority of
" *Nine*, opposed to a Minority of *two hundred and twenty-seven*, which had grown
" out of the Distresses of the Country, in
" Consequence of the War, must overbear
" any Minister, let his Abilities be ever so
" resplendent." "As for the new Adminis-

“tration,” continued he, “I hope it will be
“formed on a broad, solid Basis; and I
“sincerely wish they may prove equal to
“extricating the Country. It has been as-
“serted that some Men can make Peace
“better than others, and that the Americans
“will more readily treat with Gentlemen on
“one Side of this House, than with those
“who occupy the opposite Benches. *I shall*
“*be happy to find the Prediction verified by*
“*the Fact.*” These Words were not for-
gotten, when it was ascertained how ineffi-
cient and unsuccessful Fox’s Attempts to
open Negotiations with Holland and Ame-
rica, subsequently proved.

Powis concurred with Fox, in exhorting
Lord Surrey to suspend his Motion for a few
Days; “but,” added he, “if by Monday next,
“every Atom of the present Administration;
“—*those Ministers who are behind the Cur-*
“*tain*, as well as the ostensible Men;—*the*
“*invisible, as well as the visible Agents*, who
“have so long governed, and precipitated to
“the Verge of Destruction, this Country, are
“not swept away; then I shall wish my
“noble Friend to renew his Motion.” The
Treasury Bench observed a profound Si-

lence, neither Ellis, Dundas, nor Jenkinson pronouncing a single Word throughout the Course of the Debate. But, a Species of Dialogue or Interlude was exclusively performed by Burke and General Conway, which lasted a considerable Time; each complimenting the other on the Situation which, it was probable, they would respectively fill in the new Order of Things, under the Government about to be formed. Burke, indeed, disclaimed having any such Views or Expectations; while Conway contented himself with only declaring that “whether he
“ should be a Minister, or a private Member
“ of Parliament, he would always approve
“ himself the determined Enemy of Corruption.” Affecting to moderate the tumultuous Joy of his Friends at this sudden Change of Affairs, Burke implored them “to be
“ calm; and to remember that the Ministers
“ who were retiring, did not quit Office in
“ Consequence of any Address to the Throne
“ carried on that Day. They were neither
“ tired of occupying their Situations, nor
“ was the Sovereign weary of them; and
“ therefore the great Work just atchieved,
“ would prove incomplete, if the independent Members, who had effected it, did

“ not support the Ministers whom they
“ themselves had raised to Power.”

Lord North did not however remain without Testimonies to his public Talents, Integrity, and Virtues, even on this Day of his Fall. Sir John Delaval expressed his high Admiration of that Nobleman's great, as well as amiable Qualities, and his Regret that such Abilities would now be lost to his Country. Courtenay, with great Pertinacity, and greater Wit, addressed an Audience which refused him a Hearing; and though he assured them that he was neither of a Disposition, or Temper, or Nation, to be intimidated, yet his Voice could not surmount the impatient Exultation of the Opposition Benches. The Tribute that he paid to the expiring Minister, derived a peculiar Zest, if I may so express myself, from the Circumstance of Courtenay's having always lamented the American War, as inexpedient, impolitic, and even unjust. Indeed, he animadverted with no little Severity, both on the Country Gentlemen who had originally propelled or encouraged the Attempt of Parliament to tax America; and on the Members seated opposite, whose clamorous

and indecorous Testimonies of Satisfaction, overbore his Voice ; humorously comparing the latter to *Nell* in the Farce of “ the Devil to Pay,” when, to her Astonishment she wakes in *Lady Loverule’s* Bed. Lord Surrey at length rising, acquiesced sullenly and reluctantly in the Advice of his Friends to postpone his Motion ; which Act he however accompanied with a Menace, that if any Part of the Administration should remain in Office upon the following Monday, he would come forward with a Motion of a very different Nature, and far more personal to Ministers. This Declaration was received with loud Cheers. The House now unanimously agreed to adjourn to the subsequent Monday, the 25th of the Month ; and the Members, actuated by very opposite Emotions, dispersed in all Directions, to spread the Intelligence through the Capital. A more interesting Scene had not been acted within the Walls of the House of Commons, since February, 1741, when Sir Robert Walpole retired from Power. Nor did the First Minister of George the Second, by any means display in the last Moments of his political Life, the Equanimity, Suavity, and Dignity, manifested by his Successor. Lord

North ordered his Coach to remain at the House of Commons in waiting, on that Evening. In Consequence of so unexpected an Event as his Resignation, and the House breaking up at such an early Hour, the Housekeeper's Room became crowded to the greatest Degree; few Persons having directed their Carriages to be ready before Midnight. In the Midst of this Confusion, Lord North's Coach drove up to the Door; and as he prepared to get into it, he said, turning to those Persons near him, with that unalterable good Temper which never forsook him, " Good night, Gentlemen, you see " what it is to be in the Secret."

However extraordinary and unexpected Lord North's Resignation appeared at the Moment when it took Place; and however certain I esteem it, that he would have carried the Question, on the Evening when he laid down his Office, by a larger Majority than had supported him on the preceding Debate of the 15th; yet it must be admitted that he could assign, not only to himself, but, to his Sovereign, and to the Country at large, many cogent, if not unanswerable Reasons, for retiring from Power. The Nation,

he well knew, was universally weary of a War, the Misfortunes that had attended which, though originating in the very Nature of the Contest, and perhaps justly imputable to many other Causes or Persons, rather than to him, were attributed principally to his Errors or Mismanagement. He beheld himself now engaged in Hostilities, direct or indirect, with half Europe, in addition to America. Ireland, availing itself of our Embarrassments, loudly demanded commercial and political Emancipation. On every Side, the Empire appeared to be crumbling into Ruin. Minorca, long invested, had already surrendered, some Weeks earlier, after a Defence protracted to the last Extremity. Gibraltar was closely besieged. In the East Indies, our Difficulties, financial, as well as military, threatened the total Subversion of our wide extended Authority in that Quarter of the Globe; where Hyder Ally, though expelled by Sir Eyre Coote, from the Vicinity of Madras, still maintained himself in the Centre of the Carnatic. If the First Minister looked to the West Indies, the Prospect appeared still more big with Alarm. St. Christopher's, attacked by the Marquis de Bouillé, might be hourly ex-

pected to surrender; and he had already re-captured St. Eustatius, either by Surprise, or by corrupting the Officer who commanded the Garrison. Among all the Chain of Caribbee Islands which had belonged to the Crown of Great Britain at the Commencement of the War, only Antigua and Barbadoes remained. Such was our maritime Inferiority, that Sir Samuel Hood, whose Abilities had been vigorously exerted at the Head of the Fleet, to defend St. Christopher's, found himself unable to hazard an Engagement with de Grasse. Rodney had indeed sailed from England, with a considerable Reinforcement, in the Month of January, to join the British Admiral at Barbadoes. But, Lord North could not foresee, nor did the most sanguine Adherents of Lord Sandwich venture to predict, the splendid Victory which Rodney obtained over de Grasse, scarcely more than three Weeks after the Resignation of the first Minister. That naval Triumph, which, if it had taken Place sooner, might have saved the Administration, only served to illustrate Lord Rockingham's short Ministry.

Far from anticipating any such Event, the most alarming Apprehensions were enter-

tained relative to the Safety of Jamaica itself. If the combined Fleets of France and Spain in the West Indies, after the Reduction of St. Christopher's, should effect a Junction, they would have exceeded fifty Sail of the Line; while Rodney's whole Force scarcely amounted to more than thirty. And it was very doubtful whether such a Junction could be prevented by any Exertion of Vigilance, Courage, or Skill. The Loss of Jamaica would complete the Measure of the national Calamities, by involving our Commerce and our Finances in almost total Ruin. Under such an Accumulation of Defeat and of Disaster, the Vengeance of the Country might demand some Victim; and the Leaders of Opposition, though neither sanguinary nor vindictive in their Disposition, might be compelled to yield to the Torrent of popular Indignation. Fox, as well as Burke and Barré, had in Fact many Times alluded to the Axe and the Block, amongst the opprobrious Epithets that they lavished on the ministerial Errors; and such Menaces might be realized in a Moment of national Depression or Violence. The Crown might be even unable to extend Protection to its Servants; and the Scenes of the Year 1641, might be

renewed under the Reign of George the Third. That this Picture is not exaggerated, the History of the Period which I am writing, sufficiently proves; and however exempt from personal Pusillanimity or Apprehension we may suppose Lord North to have been, it was impossible that he could avert his View from these Considerations, or not allow them their due Weight over his Mind. Though it seems to be indisputable, that his final Resolution to resign, was at last somewhat suddenly embraced, yet the Motives which led to it, had unquestionably long existed, and may fully explain, as well as justify, his Conduct.

The Termination of Lord North's Administration, and the Close of the American War, form a great *Æra* in the Reign of George the Third. Here, therefore I shall finish the second Part of these Memoirs.

END OF VOL. II.

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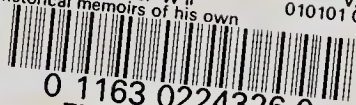
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